Union Calendar No. 277

100th Congress, 1st Session

H. Rept. No. 100-433

S. Rept. No. 100-216

Report of the Congressional Committees Investigating the

Iran-Contra Affair

Appendix B: Volume 6
Depositions

Lee H. Hamilton, *Chairman*,
House Select Committee
Daniel K. Inouye, *Chairman*,
Senate Select Committee

U.S. House of Representatives
Select Committee to Investigate
Covert Arms Transactions with Iran

U.S. Senate Select Committee
On Secret Military Assistance to Iran
And the Nicaraguan Opposition

November 13, 1987.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House
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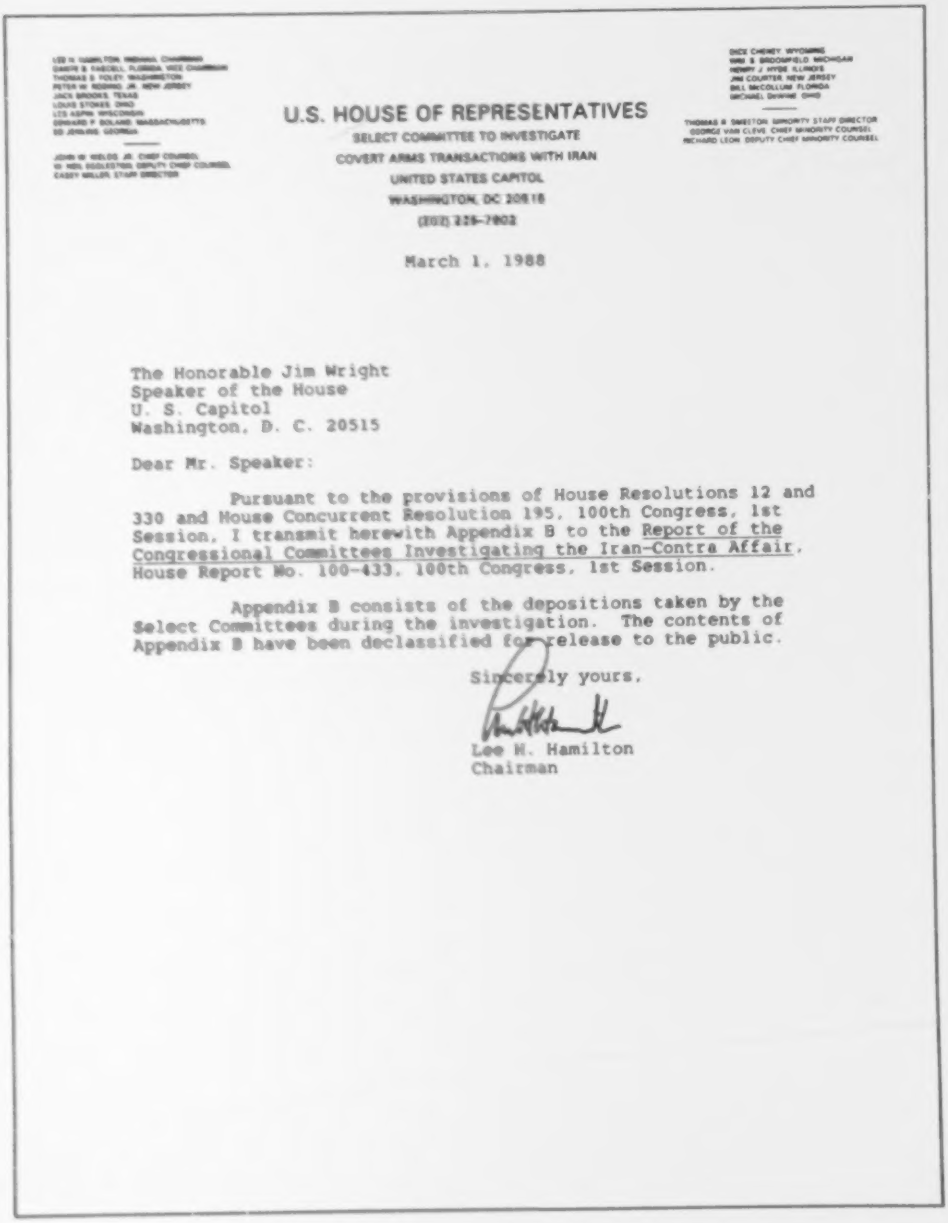

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March 1, 1988

The Honorable Jim Wright
Speaker of the House
U. S. Capitol
Washington, D. C. 20515

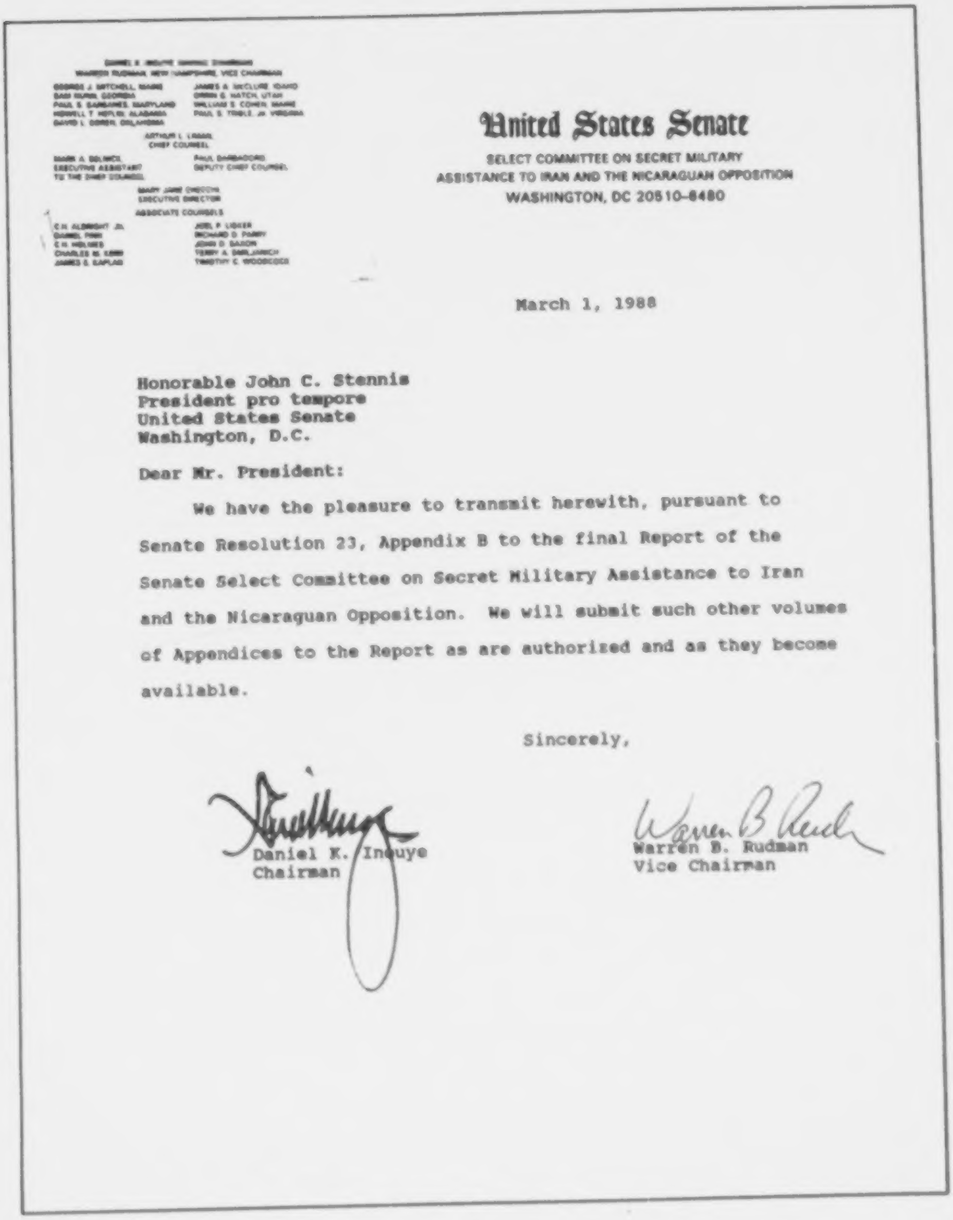
Dear Mr. Speaker:

Pursuant to the provisions of House Resolutions 12 and 330 and House Concurrent Resolution 195, 100th Congress, 1st Session, I transmit herewith Appendix B to the Report of the Congressional Committees Investigating the Iran-Contra Affair, House Report No. 100-433, 100th Congress, 1st Session.

Appendix B consists of the depositions taken by the Select Committees during the investigation. The contents of Appendix B have been declassified for release to the public.

Sincerely yours,

Lee H. Hamilton
Chairman



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United States Senate
SELECT COMMITTEE ON SECRET MILITARY
ASSISTANCE TO IRAN AND THE NICARAGUAN OPPOSITION
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6480

March 1, 1988

Honorable John C. Stennis
President pro tempore
United States Senate
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

We have the pleasure to transmit herewith, pursuant to Senate Resolution 23, Appendix B to the final Report of the Senate Select Committee on Secret Military Assistance to Iran and the Nicaraguan Opposition. We will submit such other volumes of Appendices to the Report as are authorized and as they become available.

Sincerely,

Daniel K. Inouye
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Preface

The House Select Committee to Investigate Covert Arms Transactions with Iran and the Senate Select Committee on Secret Military Assistance to Iran and the Nicaraguan Opposition, under authority contained in the resolutions establishing them (H. Res. 12 and S. Res. 23, respectively), deposed approximately 290 individuals over the course of their 10-month joint investigation.

The use of depositions enabled the Select Committees to take sworn responses to specific interrogatories, and thereby to obtain information under oath for the written record and develop lines of inquiry for the public hearings.

Select Committees Members and staff counsel, including House minority counsel, determined who would be deposed, then sought subpoenas from the Chairmen of the Select Committees, when appropriate, to compel the individuals to appear in nonpublic sessions for questioning under oath. Many deponents received separate subpoenas ordering them to produce certain written documents.

Members and staff traveled throughout the United States and abroad to meet with deponents. All depositions were stenographically reported or tape-recorded and later transcribed and duly authenticated. Deponents had the right to review their statements after transcription and to suggest factual and technical corrections to the Select Committees.

At the depositions, deponents could assert their fifth amendment privilege to avoid self-incrimination by refusing to answer specific questions. They were also entitled to legal representation. Most Federal Government deponents were represented by lawyers from their agency; the majority of private individuals retained their own counsel.

The Select Committees, after obtaining the requisite court orders, granted limited or "use" immunity to about 20 deponents. Such immunity means that, while a deposed individual could no longer invoke the fifth amendment to avoid answering a question, his or her compelled responses—or leads or collateral evidence based on those responses—could not be used in any subsequent criminal prosecution of that individual, except a prosecution for perjury, giving a false statement, or otherwise failing to comply with the court order.

An executive branch Declassification Committee, located in the White House, assisted the Committee by reviewing each page of deposition transcript and some exhibits and identifying classified matter relating to national security. Some depositions were not reviewed or could not be declassified for security reasons.

In addition, members of the House Select Committee staff corrected obvious typographical errors by hand and deleted personal and proprietary information not considered germane to the investigation.

In these *Depositions* volumes, some of the deposition transcripts are followed by exhibits. The exhibits—documentary evidence—were developed by Select Committees' staff in the course of the Select Committees' investigation or were provided by the deponent in response to a subpoena. In some cases, where the number of exhibits was very large, the House Select Committee staff chose for inclusion in the *Depositions* volumes selected documents. All of the original exhibits are stored with the rest of the Select Committees' documents with the National Archives and Records Administration and are available for public inspection subject to the respective rules of the House and Senate.

The 27 volumes of the *Depositions* appendix, totalling more than 30,000 pages, consist of photocopies of declassified, hand-corrected typewritten transcripts and declassified exhibits. Deponents appear in alphabetical order.

Publications of the House and Senate Select Committees

Report of the Congressional Committees Investigating the Iran-Contra Affair, 1 volume, 1987.

Appendix A: *Source Documents*, 2 volumes, 1988.
Appendix B: *Depositions*, 27 volumes, 1988.
Appendix C: *Chronology of Events*, 1 volume, 1988.

All publications of the Select Committees are available from the U.S. Government Printing Office.

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SELECT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE COVERT
ARMS TRANSACTIONS WITH IRAN
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
and
SELECT COMMITTEE ON SECRET MILITARY ASSISTANCE
TO IRAN AND THE NICARAGUAN OPPOSITION
UNITED STATES SENATE

Redstone Arsenal, Alabama
Monday, August 10, 1987

The deposition of GEORGE EARL COLLIER, called for examination in the above-entitled matter, pursuant to notice, in the office of the Staff Judge Advocate, room G15, building 111, Redstone Arsenal, Alabama, convened at 11:59 a.m., when were present on behalf of the parties:

4127

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Partially Declassified/Released on 4 JAN 88
under provisions of E.O. 12356
by K. Johnson, National Security Council

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APPEARANCES:

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COLONEL JOHN K. WALLACE III
Chief, Investigations and Legislative Division Office
Chief of Legislative Liaison
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Washington, D.C. 20310-1600

Court Reporter:

Diane S. Mohlere
U.S. Army Missile Command
Attn: AMSMI-JA
Redstone Arsenal, AL 35898-5120

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PROCEEDINGS

Whereupon,

GEORGE EARL COLLIER

was called for examination by counsel for the Senate Select Committee, and having been first duly sworn by Colonel John K. Wallace III, was examined and testified as follows:

EXAMINATION

BY MR. SAXON:

Q. If you would, sir, please state your full name for the record.

A. George Earl Collier.

Q. And, Mr. Collier, what is your current position?

A. Supervisor, Logistic Management Specialist, in the Fielded Application Branch, Logistic Management, TOW Project Office.

Q. And how long have you been in that position?

A. Since December 1985.

Q. And what were you doing previous to that?

A. I was a head logistician on the Bradley Fighting Vehicle Program.

Q. I'm sorry; on the what?

A. Bradley Fighting Vehicle Program.

Q. And in your current position, to whom do you currently report?

A. Currently?

Q. Yes.

A. C. C. Johnson.

Q. And what is his position?

A. He's division chief.

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Q. Okay. At the time of the Project Snowball, what we now know as Snowball, the TOW missiles which we now know went to Iran, who was your supervisor?

A. Chris Leachman.

Q. And he is now the Deputy TOW Project Manager?

A. That's correct.

Q. At the time, who was the TOW Project Manager?

A. Colonel James Lincoln.

Q. And who is now the TOW Project Manager?

A. Colonel Devanney, Thomas Devanney.

Q. And for our purposes, we have no interest in Colonel Devanney because he came on the scene after all this, I assume.

A. Right.

Q. All right, if you would, Mr. Collier, walk us through chronologically what happened from your own personal standpoint in being involved with Project Snowball. If things took place prior to your coming on board, we're not interested in those. Tell us what happened from day one of your involvement, on.

A. Okay. I became involved with the second shipment, and in that--

Q. That's the second shipment of TOWs, which would have been 508 in number, correct?

A. That's correct. And as a part of that, my involvement was after certain calls was made to my front office, you know; all I did was provide directions to the item manager to prepare the missiles for shipment.

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Q. And from whom did you receive that call?

A. That call?

Q. Yes.

A. That call would either have been from my--I'm trying to see what my division chief--it probably would have been from him or the deputy. I took over on the second shipment because my boss was going out of town.

Q. Mr. Leachman was going to a quarterly review.

A. Right. And I really can't just say right now whether or not he was actually present when that actual call was made. In answer to that, maybe no; I may have gotten it from the deputy.

Q. From whomever you got that call, how did the tasking come to you? What were you told to do?

A. ~~The~~ tasking was prepare, you know, "Get 508 missiles ready for shipment, and everything will be the same as the first one."

Q. So, basically the same customer and the same logistics, handling, everything else?

A. Right. Call out MRO, have them shipped to appear at Redstone at a certain date, and they would be off-loaded, on-loaded on the trucks, going, you know--

Q. And for the record, what's an MRO?

A. Materiel Release Order.

Q. And what is it? What function does it serve?

A. Well, it's the official document for releasing items out of stock.

Q. And that's what's necessary for the Army Missile Command to provide to Anniston Army Depot in order for them--that's their authority to go forward and execute on the requirement?

A. That's correct.

Q. To your knowledge, who physically prepared the MRO?

A. The item manager would have.

Q. And who was the item manager at that time?

A. Would have been John Coward.

Q. Coward, C-o-w-a-r-d?

A. Right. Now, you know, they say that--I'm sure not in all cases, they prepare a complete form--you know, I'm sure, you got tech edit, another staff over there that finish processing.

Q. Tech edit?

A. Tech edit, right. Right.

Q. When you told Coward to prepare the MRO, what kind of information did you give him, other than to say 508 missiles? Did you tell him what kind of missiles?

A. Thinking back, I don't think I did because, again, having these missiles, I guess somewhat fenced, he knew that when I made the call that, "John, we got another shipment, same as the first," he knew what the missile type, NSN, what condition code we needed.

Q. And what would that have been that he knew? What would have been the abbreviated NSN, national stock number?

A. He would have known the NSN stock number, condition code, and I would have told him the quantity. Okay.

Q. All right. But--and we will talk to Mr. Coward; I'm not asking

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you to get in his mind and tell us exactly what he knew--

A. Okay.

Q. --but, from your understanding at that time, did you know what the national stock number was?

A. Oh, I did, but in transcribing--in other words, calling him and telling him, I didn't have to tell him any of this because, again, he--

Q. Let me ask you this way. Did you know if we were talking about basic TOWs with MOICs?

A. Yes.

Q. M-O-I-C, the safety modification?

A. Right.

Q. And did you know that that had a particular stock number separate and apart from a basic TOW without the safety modification?

A. That's correct.

Q. And did you know what the price of that missile would have been, roughly, rough figures?

A. In referring to the AMDF, yes, I would have. Right.

Q. And AMDF, that A-M-D-F, the Army master data file. That's the catalog that has prices and stock numbers for parts--

A. Right.

Q. --and materiel.

A. Right.

Q. And what would you have known the price of the basic TOW with MOIC to be as carried in the AMDF?

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A. $8435.

Q. Eight thousand, four hundred and thirty-five dollars.

A. Right.

Q. Let me talk about this a bit further by asking you--you knew, I assume, that a basic TOW by itself would have been carried in the AMDF at a much lower price, correct?

A. That is correct.

Q. And what was that price? Do you recall?

A. Knowing now, $3,169.

Q. And do you have any idea what a MOIC costs or the MOIC kit?

A. A round number, $350.

Q. So, if I understand your testimony, you're saying that if we have a basic TOW with MOIC, we don't simply take $3169 and add $300--

A. No.

Q. --and get $3469.

A. No.

Q. What happens?

A. Why we wouldn't have that?

Q. Right.

A. It's different in acquisition years, you know. That old missile was bought in '69, and you take the missile we're talking about, with a MOIC, you're talking about a 1970--about a '77, '78 vintage, and just price alone '69 to '70 would change.

Q. Someone at the Missile Command fed into the AMDF at some point a higher price at the point at which the MOIC was identified as solving

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a particular safety problem.

A. Sure.

Q. And that created a new missile with a new national stock number.

A. That's right.

Q. And you knew that.

A. Right.

Q. Would it be fair to say that other people who worked with you and around you knew these things; i.e., that a basic TOW with MOIC had a different national stock number and, therefore, a different price?

A. Different price, right.

Q. And understand that I'm not asking you to state specifically everybody who might have known that, but let me ask you about some particular individuals who you might have reason to know would know that.

A. Okay.

Q. I think you've already said that Mr. Coward would know that.

A. Right.

Q. To the best of your knowledge, did Mr. Leachman know that at the time?

A. He would know it, but, I mean, saying--to know what the actual number without referring to the AMDF, he wouldn't know, but, yes, he would know it would have a different stock number, different NSN.

Q. Would Mr. Williams know that?

A. Yes.

Q. Would Colonel Lincoln know that?

A. Yes, but only after referring to the documents. You know,

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just off the top of their head, they wouldn't.

Q. By which you mean they might not know the exact price, but they would know that if you had a basic TOW with MOIC, it would have a different stock number and it would have a different price?

A. That's correct.

Q. Now, let me ask you a little bit about the AMDF. Do you regularly at that time, did you regularly use the AMDF?

A. On different--on other projects, yeah. I had to refer to AMDF.

Q. It was not a resource with which you were unfamiliar?

A. No. No.

Q. And when and why would you use the AMDF?

A. For price references.

Q. And you would--it may sound elementary, but just for the record, describe what you would do.?

A. Well, for instance, in the other programs I'd work on, you know, if I--

Q. Well, use this one. Let's say you wanted to look up just the price of a basic TOW. Pretend you didn't know it. What would you do?

A. Okay. If I wanted to know what the price of a basic TOW, I'd just go to the AMDF. I'd go to the microfiche, and I'd go by NSN, and I know we got several different types of missiles now because of different modifications added to them.

Q. So, you'd take a particular stock number--

A. Right.

Q. --and simply look it up?

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A. Right.

Q. And would you go across some column--

A. Right.

Q. --till you find the price?

A. Right. Correct.

Q. And that's a fairly--

A. Simple process, and AMDF was--basic system is updated annually, but I'm told you can update it more frequently than that, but as a rule, there's an annual update, price change.

Q. And I think you've answered it, but let me make sure. If you went to the AMDF to look up a price of a basic TOW that you were told had to be in condition code "A", would you know that that was a basic TOW with MOIC?

A. It had to be, in condition code "A."

Q. Right.

A. Yes, it would have to be a basic TOW, right, because otherwise a basic TOW would be in condition code "N" or "J" because of the MOIC situation.

Q. For the record, MOIC is the acronym for Missile Ordnance Inhibitor Circuit, which is a safety device added to the basic TOW to prevent a [redacted] problem.

A. Right.

Q. And when you went to the AMDF and looked at the basic TOW with MOIC, what would you find the price to be?

A. It would be $8435. Now for the--

Q Go ahead.

A Now, for the record, now, again, now, I did not do this. You're just asking, of course, if we--okay. I wanted to make sure. Okay.

Q What would be the reason why you did not do it in this particular case?

A Well, in this particular case, you know, again, when I came on, the price issue was, as I knew it, was a foregone conclusion, okay.

Q You were not personally involved in any--

A Negotiations.

Q --discussions or negotiations?

A Changes, no.

Q Over price.

A Correct.

Q Is there a preferred source to go to, other than the AMDF, within the TOW Missile Division?

A Well, you can always use your program manager's office to look at the--like I say, replacement price: What did we buy for this? What do we buy for it now? and they really are the people that supposed to update the AMDF as well, so that's the other critical thing, that if they got something later, you can go to them. It's maybe not in the machine, and they ought to be able to tell you.

Q If I asked you for the best source of pricing data on a basic TOW missile with MOIC, what would you say is the answer?

A I'd go to the AMDF, but as a backup, I'd always tell anybody to refer to the appropriate person in the program management office.

Q All right. If you knew the AMDF price of a basic TOW with MOIC was $8435 and somebody said, "Well, we want to sell it for less than that," to your knowledge, is there any basis that would allow the Army to discount it, so to speak?

A Negative.

Q Have you ever been involved with a project in which a price was discounted from that that was reflected in the AMDF?

A No. No. Well, I can say only this one, okay.

Q Let me ask you about whether it came to your attention that anyone in the Missile Command leadership raised the issue of price. You've already said that you personally weren't involved in any negotiations, dickering, arguing, over what the appropriate price should be. Were you ever made aware that individuals did press forward with higher authorities the issue of what the appropriate price for the basic TOW with MOIC should be?

A Yes, and as I understand, you know, basically what happened is that Colonel Lincoln, Mr. Williams, as well as Mr. Leachman both tried to get the price, you know, increased to the $8435, but it was a losing battle. You know, the decision was already made that, "Hey, we re going with the lesser price."

Q All right. Let me ask you several questions about this. You said the argument was to try to get the $8435 price.

A Right.

Q Now, do you use that figure because $8435 was, in your mind, the appropriate price for a basic TOW with MOIC, or when you use that figure, do you mean it to be the replacement figure if the Army was going to replace these TOWs with ITOW or TOW2?

A. Well, I would believe it to be what was reflected in the AMDF, what I would have to buy, but, also, it would be replacement if I was buying ITOW.

Q. And how do you know that these arguments or issues were raised? What's your source for knowing that Colonel Lincoln and Mr. Williams and Mr. Leachman may have raised these issues?

A. Well, just based on, I guess, after getting involved with the second shipment and talking with them.

Q. Being told by whom, to the best of your recollection?

A. Well, Mr. Leachman, Mr. Williams, and understand from Mr. Bentley at that time, who was program manager, it was discussed.

Q. Mr. Bentley? What's the first name?

A. Bill.

Q. And he was program manager for what?

A. For TOW Project. He was chief of program management.

Q. Okay.

A. I can't say whether or not--whether Colonel Lincoln and I ever--wouldn't have been a reason anyway.

Q. To whom did this issue get raised by these individuals? Who did they raise it with?

A. As I understand it, it was raised back to, at that time, a Major Chris Simpson.

Q. And Major Simpson would have been the action officer at the office of the Deputy Chief of Staff, Logistics, in Washington?

A. Right.

Q. What was your understanding of the disposition of this issue? I'll put it another way. What did Major Simpson say to their argument?

A. Well, I--just only thing I was told, that, you know, 31--whatever it is--plus the MOIC is what we're going to pay.

Q. $3169 plus the $300?

A. Right. That's all we're going to get. Nothing else was said about it.

Q. To your knowledge, did this ever get raised to the level where generals were talking to each other?

A. As I know it, my commander at that time, General Burbules, was told.

Q. General Peter Burbules, the Commanding General of the Army Missile Command?

A. Right. He was told by Colonel Lincoln. You know, I don't know what he did from his angle to try to get anything changed, but I know he was told.

Q. When you talked with Mr. Leachman at any point about this, do you recall him ever using the figure of $8435 to talk about the basic TOW with MOIC?

A. Well, only in describing the fact that there was really an argument between, you know, DA and MICOM that the price ought to be that and that we was taking it ~~under~~ on the chin to accept it for the other price.

Q. But, you clearly understand that he--let me withdraw that and put it this way. Your testimony is that, in your opinion, Mr. Leachman clearly knew that the price for a basic TOW with MOIC, if you go to the AMDF, was $8435.

A. Yes. If you went there and looked, right.

Q. And do you recall him specifically ever using that number with you in a discussion or you using it with him where he clearly would understand what you were talking about?

A. Well, I was--well, let me see. In discussing with him, discussing the price issue, the $8435 number were, you know, was used by him. He was familiar with the $8435 number.

Q. So, if I pHrased it this way, there was no doubt in your mind that he was familiar with the $8435 number.

A. Right.

Q. And would have known that what that represented was the price of a basic TOW with MOIC according to the AMDF.

A. Right. Right.

Q. Did you ever have--same questions with regard to Mr. Williams. Did you have discussions with him where the $8435 number was used?

A. Never. No.

Q. Would you have any reason to know whether he had knowledge, though, of its being the appropriate figure for a basic TOW with MOIC?

A. Based on general conversation, yes. Yes.

Q. General conversations with whom? Leachman?

A. With Mr. Leachman and understand with Mr. Bentley.

Q. Okay. I'm going to make reference several times during the course of this deposition with the sworn testimony that you provided to the Department of Army Inspector General on 15 December 1986. Do you recall that--

A. Right.

Q. --interview?

A. Right.

Q. You stated in that testimony that the difference between $8435 and $3469 stuck out like a sore thumb. Is that a fair statement?

A. Yeah. Yes.

Q. And was it your sense that the Army was, as you said earlier, taking it on the chin if they were going to be required to provide these missiles for the lower price?

A. Sure. Sure.

Q. Was that a concern that was shared by more people than yourself?

A. Yes. Yes.

Q. And who would that circle extend to?

A. I would say my colonel, my deputy, my division chief, the item manager, you know; all who was involved at that time.

Q. All right. Mr. Collier, in the DA IG testimony, you stated that it was your understanding that a written message went forward from someone here at the missile command to Department of the Army on this issue of price. Do you have any recollection of that, and are you able to enlighten us any on what that might have been about?

A. Okay. As I recall, you know, the answer to that, it would still be yes, but now whether or not ~~I~~ I've seen that actual document, I think that my answer to that would be no. I don't think I saw that.

Q. Let's go through it this way. First of all, you did not yourself prepare such a document?

A. No.

Q. Second, if any such document were prepared, it would have been prepared, I assume, at the time of the first shipment.

A. Right.

Q. Which was before you got involved.

A. Right.

Q. If you saw a document then, it would be after the fact.

A. Right.

Q. And it would have been in the course of what? reviewing the files for this project when you got involved?

A. Right.

Q. Let me take a moment and read you your previous testimony, and let me make it clear, as I've said before we went on the record, we're simply looking for your best testimony today.

A. Okay.

Q. And all these matters took place over a year ago. People's memories get fuzzy; events get confused, so there's no effort here to try to impeach you in the sense of "You were telling the truth one time, and you're not this time," or vice versa. It's just simply to try to refresh your recollection, and I want you to tell me in your best judgment what you recall.

A. Okay.

Q You were asked this question, and I quote, "Did you know that--did you hear the rumor that your command or your chain of command out here got some general officers involved in the pricing? Did you hear that rumor or that fact?" unquote. Answer: quote, "Well, again, I guess I have to go back to what I said earlier. I understood that we did challenge the price, and I know for a fact that a message was--I can't say it was a message or letter, but I know it was written, that it did go out. I don't know whether it went to a two-star or a three-star level," unquote. Now, that's what you stated then. Does that help refresh your recollection in any way or just confuse things further?

A Well, you know, I probably said it at that time, but I guess I shouldn't have been like absolute I knew for sure because, again, I was not involved at that time. I would have to go back--fact that I was told; I understood that. I should have never made the statement that I was sure that something went forward 'cause I don't.

Q In terms of what sent forward, whether written or oral--

A Mm-hmm.

Q --is it your understanding that the issue raised was the $8435 versus the $3469?

A 3469, that's correct.

Q And that's as opposed to, "We're going to have to replace these missiles. We might want to go with TOW2. That might cost, let's say, $11,000."

A Right. Right.

Q And you understood it was the former and not the latter?

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A. That's right.

Q. Just to make sure I understand your testimony, is it your best recollection now that you aren't sure whether there was ever a written message on this point?

A. I would have to say that's right. Right.

Q. Could have been, but you're not sure.

A. Right. There's no way I could be absolutely sure.

Q. If there was such a message, would it show up in any files that still exist?

A. Yeah, if it was.

Q. Do you have access to those files at present?

A. I can get access to them.

Q. Could you check on that and see if any such document exists?

A. Yes.

Q. And when a request goes from Redstone Arsenal through Anniston Army Depot, in general what would take place? Would the item manager be the one who passed forward the request?

A. Right. That's correct.

Q. And would he do that initially by a phone call?

A. In this case, the answer's yes, but not in all cases.

Q. Okay, so in this case, a phone call was made by whom? Mr. Coward

A. Right.

Q. To Anniston Army Depot?

A. Right.

Q. And was that followed by the MRO?

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A. Right.

Q. Hard copy?

A. Right.

Q. Do you know what information was on that MRO?

A. The information should have been the quantity, NSN, part number, condition code, of the basic missile.

Q. Would that include price normally?

A. Yes.

Q. In terms of the MRO for the first shipment, you weren't around then in terms of direct involvement, right?

A. Right.

Q. When the MROs were prepared for the second and third shipments, you would have been involved in the general process, right?

A. Right.

Q. Did you have any direct involvement in preparing the MRO on the second or third shipment; in other words, physically providing the information or putting it onto the form?

A. Negative. No.

Q. Would you have seen the MRO after it was prepared?

A. No. No.

Q. Anniston Army Depot at some point would have prepared a document called the ammunition planning worksheet. Would you have had any reason to see that?

A. No.

Q. At the point at which the missiles are physically transferred from the depot to Redstone.

A. Right.

Q. What documents would be prepared in order to reflect that transfer?

A. Well, the 1348.

Q. That's a standard Department of Defense form?

A. Right. Right. We in turn call it a flimsy, but that's the form.

Q. DD 1348.

A. Right.

Q. And what kind of data does it have on it?

A. It has basically the information--probably, you know, of the MRO; they had the NSN, part number, requisition number, price, you know. That's about all.

Q. Ship from, ship to?

A. Right.

Q. And did you have any involvement with the 1348s once the second and third shipments got to Redstone?

A. Well, I signed them.

Q. So, as the missiles were transferred, the physical possession, and, I guess, in a technical and legal sense, the ownership, they were transferred from Anniston Army Depot, and physically here at Redstone, you signed the 1348 to take receipt of the missiles.

A. Right. And the persons from DA would sign in his column, taking the shipment outright.

Q. So, on up the line. You transferred to DA, and you wouldn't

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have had a reason to know this at the time, but DA transferred them to the CIA, and at each stage, a 1348 was signed.

A. Okay. Okay.

Q. Do you recall whether a price was on the 1348s that you signed when you received shipment from Anniston Army Depot?

A. Okay. Some had price on them, and some did not.

Q. Okay. Let me stop at this point and mark some exhibits, and there are some things I want to come back to, but it's probably best to do this by going through some documents, and I'm going to break them down into the first, second, and third shipments, and I'm going to run through some in the first shipment, even though I understand you didn't personally have any involvement, but I want to get the documents in the record. Let me provide that to you to mark as Exhibit 1 [handing it to the reporter]; give you a copy [handing it to the witness]; give you a copy [handing it to COL Wallace].

[The reporter marked Exhibit 1.]

Q. Without addressing yourself to the specifics of this document, Mr. Collier, is this the form you're familiar with?

A. Yes.

Q. This is MICOM Form 496, is that correct?

A. Mm-hmm.

Q. And is a Materiel Release Order, or an MRO?

A. Mm-hmm.

Q. All right, if you would look at the date, it's--I apologize for the poor copy, but this is a--it's been copied many times before, but that

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is January '86, and whether that's 21 or some other date is not clear, but if you'll look at the quantity block, it shows that we're talking about 1,000 missiles. The last three digits--the last four digits--of the national stock number, 1512--would you know that to be a basic TOW with MOIC?

A. Mm-hmm.

Q. And if you look at the unit price, you'll see that it bears the figure $8,435, is that correct?

A. Mm-hmm.

Q. Now, to the best of your knowledge, would this form for the first shipment have been prepared by Mr. Coward as the unit manager?

A. I'm trying to think. After getting involved with it, I really can't say because, again, I don't know. John, somehow or another, was on travel, and I would have to leave that up to him because I'm not sure.

Q. We'll ask him that question, but in the normal course of business, the item manager would have prepared this?

A. Right.

Q. And this would be the first document going to Anniston Army Depot providing them the basic data, would that be correct?

A. Right. Which would follow up the phone call.

Q. I want to have this marked as Exhibit 2 [the reporter marked the exhibit], and I don't have other copies of that, so when you mark that, let me have it back. [The reporter returned it to Mr. Saxon.] I want to provide you with this to take a look at [handing it to the witness]. This is a computer card that's generated at Anniston Army Depot.

A Mm-hmm.

Q And if you would--let me ask you first, are you familiar with the use of this card?

A Well, yeah, you know, I've seen them after certain shipping transactions, yes.

Q And, if you notice, in this column under quantity [pointing it out], it has 1,000--

A Mm-hmm.

Q --so, we're talking about the first shipment.

A Mm-hmm.

Q And it bears the price of $8,435.

A Right.

Q Now, this came from the General Accounting Office, and the notations on here are from the GAO investigators, and it reflects that Mrs. Jane Griffiths, who works at Anniston Army Depot, received this price of $8,435 from MICOM. The note's here, "MICOM gave price, paren, John Coward."

A Mm-hmm.

Q But you personally would not have been involved with the first shipment and with that document, is that correct?

A No. No.

Q Exhibit 3, I ask that that be marked. [The reporter did so.] Also pertains to the first shipment. This is something called the ammunition planning worksheet, as I understand it, and if you'll look [indicating] under the shipped quantity, you see 1,000 for the first shipment and the total price is $8,435,000, so if you do some quick division, that works out to $8,435. Would that seem to be correct?

A. Mm-hmm.

Q. Have you ever seen this, the generic form before? Are you familiar with this worksheet?

A. Yeah, I've seen it from depot transactions, yeah.

Q. And it would be prepared in the normal course of business?

A. Right. Correct.

Q. Let me have this series of documents marked as Exhibit 4 [the reporter did so], give you a chance to look at those [handing the exhibit to the witness]. These are copies of DD Form 1348 prepared by Anniston Army Depot. Again, for the first shipment, the quantity of 1,000. Look in the upper right-hand corner. It appears the unit price of $8,435.

A. Mm-hmm.

Q. Is this what a DD Form 1348 looks like when it's prepared, before anyone has signed it to effect a transfer, to the best of your knowledge?

A. Yes.

Q. I'd like for these, this next group of documents, to be marked as Exhibit 5 [the reporter did so], give you a chance to look at those [handing the exhibit to the witness]. These are not multiple copies of the same document. What they are are, as I understand it, for a shipment of 1,000 it's broken up into individual lots, so you would have more than one DD 1348 for 1,000 TOWs, is that correct?

A. Mm-hmm.

Q. All right. These are the copies of the 1348 actually signed here at Redstone by Mr. Leachman for the first shipment, and if you can make it out, it bears the date of 29 January '86, and if you'll look in the upper right-hand corner, Mr. Collier, you'll see that at this point, the price does not appear on the 1348, is that correct?

A. Mm-hmm.

Q. Now, did you ever have any discussion with Mr. Leachman prior--way after the second shipment and those documents yet--prior to them being prepared, did you ever have any discussion with Mr. Leachman about the fact that the first shipment did not bear a price on the transfer document?

A. Never. No.

Q. I want to show you, to complete the cycle on the first shipment--have this marked as Exhibit 6 [the reporter did so], give you a chance to look at that [handing it to the witness]. You'll see that this is the DD 1348 that was signed by Major Christopher Simpson. You see the typed-in signature block "Major Chris Simpson" and then his signature showing that he received them from--on behalf of the office of the Deputy Chief of Staff of Logistics, received them from the Missile Command, says shipped from Redstone Arsenal, and you'll note, also, on this one the price block is blank, is that correct?

A. Right.

Q Then the last stage of the transfer on the first shipment, have that marked as the next exhibit [the reporter marked Exhibit 7] is the document transferring them from the Army to the CIA, and, again, you would have had no occasion to see this document even if you had been involved in the first shipment, but it shows that Major Simpson had signed it and then he has transferred them to an individual--and the name is blacked out. This is the declassified version, and the White House removed the name of that particular CIA individual who received them from Major Simpson, HQ DA Headquarters, Department of the Army, on 13 February '86, and if you'll look in the upper right-hand corner, you'll see that the price reappears now, and it's $3469, is that correct?

A Mm-hmm.

Q Now, just for the record, and in the interest of fairness, you were not involved with the first shipment, had no involvement in the preparation of these documents, is that correct?

A Right.

Q I want to focus on something that you will, hopefully, have a little more knowledge of and direct involvement, and that is the second shipment. Let me have this exhibit marked as Exhibit 8 [the reporter did so]. And this is the MRO for the second shipment. The date is more legible--it's 16 May '86--and ask if you will take a look at it. You'll note that the quantity is 508, so that would be the second shipment, correct?

A Mm-hmm.

Q. And I don't suppose either of those signatures at the bottom is yours.

A. No.

Q. Do you recognize either of those? Is that W. R. Gibson at the bottom?

A. Naw, I can't say that; it might be.

Q. And Gary W--someone. Do you know who would have been the approving authority for this document, who those individuals would be?

A. That looks like Gary W. Akins there.

Q. And who is he?

A. He would have been the--well, he would have been the branch chief. He would have been John Coward's branch chief at that time.

Q. And would it be reasonable to assume that this MRO was prepared by Mr. Coward?

A. Yes.

Q. All right, and if you'll look, in addition to the date and the quantity and the national stock number of 1512, which would indicate a basic TOW with MOIC, you'll see the unit price is $8,435, is that correct?

A. Mm-hmm.

Q. I'd like for you to look at the next exhibit. When that's marked, if you would, let him look at it, and then make sure you give it back to her. [The reporter marked Exhibit 9 and handed it to the witness.]

Q. This would be the computer card, again prepared at--

A. At Anniston.

Q. --Anniston Army Depot, and you see the quantity of 508.

A. Mm-hmm.

Q. And GAO has noted that the 1512 indicates that that's the MOIC modified, and then if you look at the bottom, and the price is $8,435.

A. Mm-hmm.

[The witness returned Exhibit 9 to the court reporter.]

Q. Let me give you the next document and have that marked as Exhibit 10 [the reporter did so], and this is the ammunition planning worksheet for shipment to--look under the shipped quantity; you'll see 508; and total price is 4 thousand--excuse me; $4,284,980, and my arithmetic says that works out to $8435.

A. Mm-hmm.

[The witness returned Exhibit 10 to the court reporter.]

Q. Let me have that marked as the next exhibit. [The reporter marked Exhibit 11.] And, if you would look at that, that is a DD 1348. [The reporter handed the exhibit to the witness.] And the quantity shows 508, so that would be for the second shipment, is that correct?

A. Mm-hmm.

Q. And there are no signatures on that, so that would appear to be the form prepared at Anniston Army Depot prior to the actual shipment, and what is the price reflected on that?

A. $8435 [returning the exhibit to the reporter].

Q. With regard to that exhibit, I'm going to simply include the one as representive of all the additional documents for that lot.

A. Okay.

Q. Let me have these next four pages marked as the next exhibit, going to be number 12, is that correct? [reporter confirmed] and ask that you take a look at that, Mr. Collier, and tell me what they reflect.
[The reporter handed the exhibit to the witness.]

A. They reflect the appropriate NSN, the price, which we said would be right--

Q. Would be what?

A. $8435.

Q. And this would be the DD 1348 that actually shows the transfer from Anniston Army Depot to the Army Missile Command.

A. Right.

Q. And they were received by yourself, is that correct.

A. That's right.

Q. That is your signature?

A. That is right.

Q. And so when you--you actually took receipt of these on the second shipment and signed this card. It bears the price of $8,435, correct?

A. Mm-hmm.

Q. Do you remember taking note of that price at the time?

A. No. Whether or not I--whether I actually signed it and looked at the corner there? No. No, I did not. I mean, if you mean just to look at it and say, "Hey, I'm seeing something," no, but actually knowing that, that the NSN was there, the price was there, and everything was there, yes. That, answer yes. But to actually look at the price--

Q. Did it register with you--

A. No.

Q. --that the price of the missiles you were signing for was $8,435?

A. No. No. No.

Q. At the time that document came in, do you recall having any discussion with Mr. Leachman about the price issue and what price should show up in that block?

A. No. No. No, 'cause at that time, when that came up, when I signed that for Anniston that day, again, Mr. Leachman had to have been gone to that quarterly--I don't think he was here, so I signed those forms and just made a record of them and put them in a folder and just filed them away.

Q. All right. Let me have this marked as the next exhibit and ask that you take a look at it [the reporter marked Exhibit 13], and what that reflects is the DD 1348 showing transfer to Colonel Armbright.

A. Right.

Q. And if you will notice, then, the price block is blank.

A. Right.

Q. Do you know why that is?

A. Well, again, today I have to say, you know, the original price was not there. Again, I'm assuming that we were directed by higher headquarters not to put it on there, on the transfer documents to the DA rep. There would not be a price on there.

Q All right. This is an important point, so let me back up and make sure we cover it adequately. One can make that assumption--I can make that assumption--but I wasn't involved with them.

A Okay.

Q What do you know, and what do you specifically recall as to price on the 1348s that went forward from you that you signed when either Simpson or, in second and third shipments, Armbright took possession, and from them to any subsequent transfers? Were you given instructions that that price block should be changed in any way from 18435?

A No, but the way I understood it, the way we supposed to fill it out, you know, I filled out the form, had the form typed--I'm trying to think if one of our secretaries typed it--and when I got to the price block, it was just said, you know, "Leave it off." Now, who directed who, who actually told me to do that, I can't say that.

Q Is it your recollection that somebody told you to leave that off, to leave price completely off?

A As I understood it, it was supposed to been done the same as before, okay.

Q So, would you have gone and looked at the previous--

A To get the previous form and typed it as the other but changed the serial number from C001 to C002 and everything else.

Q All right. I need to know whether this is a conscious process or not. Do you recall whether you were simply told, "Type up the transfer document the same as the last one," or whether there was specific mention of, "Type up the transfer document, and, as we did with the last one, don't put a price in there"?

A. No, as I recall it now, it was just, "Type it up the same as before," because, again, yeah, I'm almost sure.

Q. Do you recall being told by anybody that the documents should not bear a price, that the price block should be left blank?

A. I have to say now no, I don't believe I was.

Q. All right. Let's look at the third shipment; then we'll come back to this. Let me have this marked as the next exhibit to go through the sequence and have you take a look at that, and I think you'll find that it's simply the MRO for the third shipment [the reporter marked Exhibit 14], and if you'll look in the quantity block, you'll see that it says 500, and, if you would, tell me what the price block says.

A. It looks like $8164, doesn't it?

Q. Is there any reason that you can think of why $8164 would be used as opposed to $8435 or any other number?

A. Right now, I can only say 'cause this is NSN and in 2507, and--

Q. Would that be the ITOW, I-T-O-W downgrade?

A. Mm-hmm. And the reason it could have been different in the other one is that this particular missile had the newer battery in it. It wouldn't have required the MOIC, so that particular price could be the--that would be my only rationale to say it would be different than $8435. Don't quite add up, because, you know, again, the MOIC, I guess on average, we talk a little bit about $350, but, you know, if you look at it, it's probably anywhere from $280 and above to 4 hundred and something.

Q. And would this document likely have been prepared by the item manager?

A. Yes.

Q. Let me ask you to look at the next exhibit, which is the computer card generated at Anniston Army Depot, and you can look at this copy. [The reporter marked Exhibit 15.] It shows a quantity of 500, which would be the third shipment.

A. Mm-hmm.

Q. And lists you or Mr. Coward as the Redstone point of contact.

A. Mm-hmm.

Q. And what price is in that block?

A. They used $8435.

Q. Okay.

A. I don't know why they didn't use John's price.

Q. Let me have you look at the next exhibit, which is the ammunition planning worksheet for the third shipment [marked Exhibit 16], and if you look at the quantities, you'll see 500 and the total price of $4,217,500, which should work out to $8435.

A. $8435, yes.

Q. Next is the DD 1348 prepared [marked Exhibit 17] at Anniston Army Depot before actual transfer for a quantity of 500.

A. Mm-hmm.

Q. And you'll see that it bears a price $8435, is that correct?

A. Mm-hmm.

Q. Let me give you this series of iterations of the same document, and that's the DD 1348 that actually reflects the transfer from Anniston Army Depot to Redstone [marked Exhibit 18]. If you'll note, there's a quantity of 500, again the price of $8435, and that bears your signature, is that correct?

A. Right.

Q. So, were you the official here who signed for the third shipment?

A. Right.

Q. Do you recall specifically taking note of the price that was in that block on this form?

A. Negative. I did not at the time.

Q. Do you recall any discussion with Mr. Leachman or anyone else about what price should be in that block?

A. No. No.

Q. Did anybody at any point raise the issue--as you've testified at this point, the price was clearly established. Any arguments to be made had been made, and the price was $3469. That was the price the Army was getting from the customer, whoever it was to be.

A. Right.

Q. Did you ever raise the point, "Wait a minute. We've got a problem. The paperwork looks curious or screwy because we're signing for these, and it shows $8435"?

A. No. No.

Q. Can you think of why you might not have taken note of the price block? Was this simply a--sign for them; you knew what you were getting?

A. Well, it--right. I knew--yeah. You could say that.

Q. Would you normally have gone through this document and made sure all of the numbers and figures and quantities were right?

A. You know, as a norm, you say the answer's yes, but then after you handle so many of them, especially the same type, you know, once you see basic information, quantity, NSN, you know, other data on the form becomes, you know, something like a standard; it's just there, you know: price, location, you know, pallet size, and all that, that wouldn't-- I wouldn't worry about scrutinizing, you know.

Q. What happened physically as you took possession and signed for these? Now, my understanding is contemporaneously, like at the same time, there would have been someone on the scene--I guess Colonel Armbright--

A. Right.

Q. Then you would have--who you then would have signed them over to.

A. Right.

Q. So, the document that he signed would have been prepared by whom?

A. Our office.

Q. Did anyone take note of the fact that the document he signed didn't bear a price?

A. Well, you know, the first two times, I'm sure we did, but, again, by direction, it was not there, and I don't think nobody ever challenged it.

Q. Let me ask as the final exhibit you look at this document [marked Exhibit 19], which reflects that these were then transferred

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from Redstone to Colonel Armbright and then from him to the individuals with the CIA whose names have been redacted.

A. Mm-hmm.

Q. And you'll see the price block; it shows $3469.

A. Right.

Q. Now, what we're trying to figure out, Mr. Collier is what went on here--

A. Right.

Q. --and you may wonder, "Why did you walk me through all these documents that I didn't prepare and that I didn't see at Anniston Army Depot or whatever or those with regard to the first shipment, which I wasn't involved with?" and there's a simple reason for doing that, and that is to say this: all of the documents prepared here, to start with, show the price of $8435.

A. Mm-hmm.

Q. The MRO.

A. Mm-hmm.

Q. On all three shipments, or came close on the third shipment, $8164--

A. Mm-hmm.

Q. --and then we go to Anniston Army Depot, and the computer card that they generate initially bears the $8435 price, as does the ammunition planning worksheet.

A. Right.

Q. As does the DD 1348 that they prepare, which ostensibly would

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come here.

A. Right.

Q. And the blank ones, unsigned by you, which were prepared at Anniston Army Depot, show that price.

A. Mm-hmm.

Q. And then when they get to this stage and they're signed by you, they show $8435.

A. Mm-hmm.

Q. And then from the point at which we transfer them to Major Simpson or Colonel Armbright--

A. Mm-hmm.

Q. --we have no price.

A. Mm-hmm.

Q. And then at the point at which they transfer them to the CIA, the price reappears--

A. Mm-hmm.

Q. --and it's the $3469 price.

A. Right.

Q. And what we're trying to figure out is why and what happened. Do you have a judgment as to how the price disappears on the forms that are prepared here and that are executed here in transferring them from Redstone to Department of Army?

A. Okay. Well, again, we here will prepare it, you know, business as usual, so it wouldn't have been no--you know, like I'm talking about in the item manager's case, we would, you know--everything we done was right, you know, the right price, right NSN, reflect the latest, whatever. Now, you know, again--

Q But you said that your office would have prepared the form that reflects no price.

A Right.

Q Are you familiar with any instance in the past where to effect a transfer from Redstone to some other party using a DD Form 1348, you would have no price in the unit price block?

A No. No.

Q So, this would have been the first and only time that happened?

A Right. Right.

Q I may have asked this before, but did you take note of the fact that the time those forms were prepared that it had no price in the block?

A I think I did, but I, you know, really made no comment because, again, the first shipment didn't have it, and I was told on the second shipment to type the form the same as the first one except change the serial number from C001 to C003.

Q Do you recall being told by anyone that there was to be no price on the document?

A Not to be no price but just told to type it the same as the first.

Q Do you recall being directed by Mr. Leachman that there would be no reference to price?

A No. No, he did not. In other words, his direction before that was type the same form the same as the first one.

Q. All right, but let me walk you through a few of the statements that you made with the Department of the Army IG.

A. Okay.

Q. See if this helps to refresh your recollection in any way. Now, you were asked about the 1348s as they were prepared. Question, quote: "Do you recall what price was put on the shipment?" unquote. Answer: "I don't recall, but I can say it was probably the $8435 because that was the price," unquote. Question, quote: "Did you have anything to do with preparing of the 1348 that transferred the missiles from the project office to the Department of Army DCSLOG, D-C-S-L-O-G?" unquote. Answer: "Yes." There was further discussion about this, and you stated, quote, "We had all that information typed on it," unquote. Question: "Notice there is no price on that document," unquote. Answer, quote: "Right," unquote. Question, quote: "Was that intentional?" unquote. Answer, quote: "It was directed that way," unquote. Question: "Directed by whom?" unquote. Answer, quote: "By DA," unquote. Some further discussion about this point, and you said, "Well, no, not DA itself but Mr. Leachman." Question, quote: "So, Mr. Leachman, then, basically told you that because he did the first one, is that right?" unquote. Answer, quote: "Right. He was just saying--well, he just said, 'This is how they want us to fill them out,'" unquote. Question, quote: "Why would you leave the price off, though? I mean, if you've got--if you are putting down a basic missile with MOIC?" unquote. Answer: "Uh-huh." Question, quote: "The right stock number," unquote. Answer: "Uh-huh." Question, quote: "The right nomenclature, 71 alpha 2; why would you leave the price off?" unquote. Answer, quote: "Because that is how I understood that it was directed to be done here. It was not put on the first document, so the second document was consistent with the first," unquote. You stated further, quote, "The price was not on the first one, so the price wasn't on the second one," unquote. Then you continued, quote, "Because, as I understood, again, it was directed that there would be no reference to price on the document," unquote. Question, quote: "Okay, so you were told in an earlier conversation there would be no reference to price?" unquote. Answer, quote: "Right," unquote. Question, quote: "And Mr. Leachman, I mean, yes; Chris Leachman told you that?" unquote. Answer, quote: "Right," close quotes. And then your--the question is put as to why you would do it, and so forth, and you answered, quote: "Well, you know, again, like I say, in this case, if you were directed not to, you know, you don't do that," unquote. Now, I walked through this to see if any of that refreshes your recollection.

A. Right.

Q. And let me specifically ask you whether that sounds correct as to what your testimony was at the time.

A. It's correct in there except for one point. You know, at that time I guess I shouldn't have been so absolutely--in other words, making an absolute true statement that Mr. Leachman said. In other words, putting him there. If he directed it.

Q. I clearly understand that you would not have direct knowledge of who told Mr. Leachman anything--

A. Right.

Q. --unless you were standing--

A. Right.

Q. --in the presence of Mr. Leachman and someone else.

A. Right.

Q. Although you could have indirect knowledge if he told you that somebody else told him.

A. Right.

Q. My question to you is, as to your best recollection today, were you told that there was to be no reference to price on the 1348 that was used to transfer control to the office of the Deputy Chief of Staff of Logistics?

A. Well, again, on the second one, I was told to type as the first one, and there was no price there, and naturally, we looked, and we saw that, but, you know, didn't question it. On the last shipment, you know, we were told by the DA rep that he wanted the 3469 in that block, and that's what--

Q. And by the DA rep, do you mean Colonel Armbright?

A. Right.

Q. Who was told that by Colonel Armbright?

A. Well, I'm sure it came into Colonel Lincoln's office, and I'm thinking that--I'm trying to see; did I have any personal conversation with him about that? I can't say that, but I do know that once we typed the form, we did put the $3469 in there this time because that's what DA wanted.

Q. Okay.

A. Okay.

Q. Let me make sure I understand your testimony as to the form of the second shipment. You were told to type that form as it had been typed for the first shipment?

A. Right.

Q. In the process of preparing that, whether you physically typed it or directed someone to type it, did someone take note of the fact that in taking the identical data--

A. Mm-hmm.

Q. --from one form to another, that there was no price there?

A. No.

Q. You don't recall--

A. No.

Q. --anyone flagging that?

A. No. Nobody challenged; no. No.

Q. Do you recall Mr. Leachman ever telling you either, a, to leave the price off, specifically, or, b, that there was to be no reference to price on these forms?

A. Neither one. It was absolutely, you know--the statement was, "Type the second form the same as the first," okay.

Q. All right, now, you don't have to agree with my conclusion, but as I read your DA IG testimony, it's fairly unequivocal. It didn't seem to be a lot of uncertainty as to the fact that you were told there would be no reference to price and that Mr. Leachman said that. Is it your statement today that you just maybe weren't correct in those statements that you made?

A. Well, you know, I was incorrect in those statements when it comes out so absolute like I put it there. You know, again, the discussion was "Type the same as the first," and I guess if anything came up, maybe indirectly, you know, he may have said, "Okay, we're supposed to make no reference to price," you know, and, again, you know, I can only assume that, you know, it was directed from the top that we do it that way. But I shouldn't have never had anything so for certain, sure, that "Hey, this is right." I shouldn't never made statements like that.

Q. When Armbright signed the documents receiving the missiles from you, do you recall if he made note of any of the data that was on the form?

A. Well, on the second one, he went through it, and he said, "Mm-hmm, mm-hmm," you know, and far as there was no price there, there was no challenge there, okay. He signed it.

Q. Do you recall if that was specifically discussed, the fact that there was no price on that form?

A. No, he didn't say anything, but he did notice in looking at it; he checked it. He had the first form that Major Simpson signed with him; probably was a copy of it, but he made sure everything tracked and that the serial number was the thing they changed, and he signed it.

Q. Did you ever look at the copy of the form he had that Major Simpson signed for the first shipment?

A. No, but I had a copy. A copy was on--in our files. Chris already had a copy of that from the first shipment. Now, on the third

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shipment, again, when Colonel Armbright signed those, we looked at it, and he wanted to make sure that the 3469 was there. I do know on that one it was made a reference--said, "Okay." We went across, and that price, "Okay." Everything was checked, and he signed it.

Q. He did not physically in your presence turn to anyone and then convey them to another party, did he? which party you would not have known at the time, but, again, that would be the CIA.

A. Negative. No.

Q. We will at the conclusion of this investigation be writing a report and making recommendations for how things should be done differently in the future, if at all. Do you have any recommendations for us, for anyone, either at your level or higher up, as to how these transactions should be handled in the future?

A. Well, you know, again, it's a recommendation, first of all, that everything be put in writing, that we shouldn't accept anything from a phone call, and that whoever's directing the topside, you know, especially when they make reference to price, that a call to someone at the local command who has the actual responsibility, who the item is managed by, as for price, any reference NSN types and all should be discussed before a transaction is made and not someone topside who's not totally familiar with the process.

Q. If I understand what you're saying, you think that the Army should have a system that, for any requirement, the need for the customer, whoever it is, they should know in advance before approval is given the nomenclature, the stock number, the price, the quantity, and all of

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those things with regard to what they're being asked to transfer.

A. Right, all the different types that you have simply because of modifications. You know, the thing that was old, old has probably got changed along the way, so, you know, again, far as record keeping, so you'd have an audit trail, you do keep the old number in there, so you can come forward.

Q. If the Army happened to already have such a system, would it be your recommendation that it be used in the future?

A. Yes, which is the AMDF.

Q. Final question for you, which I hope you'll understand I'm obligated to ask. Has there been anyone who has talked to you about the testimony you were to provide today and in any way tried to influence what you've told us?

A. Negative. No. No.

MR. SAXON: Okay. Mr. Collier, let me say on behalf of both the Senate and the House committees, that we appreciate your time. I know we kept you cooling your heels all morning while we interviewed some other individuals--

WITNESS: Hey, that's okay.

MR. SAXON: --and we appreciate your time and appreciate your testimony. It's been very helpful.

WITNESS: Okay.

MR. SAXON: Thank you.

[Whereupon, at 1:13 p.m., August 10, 1987, the taking of the deposition was concluded.]

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28 JUN 86

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ACTION

THRU: DRSM - ________
DRSM - ________
TO: DRSM - ________

FROM: DRSM - [illegible]
ITEM MANAGER'S ANAL-CD 044

DATE: 21 Jun 86
PHONE: 2.4415

DOCUMENT IDENT	ROUTING IDENT	M&S	NATIONAL STOCK NUMBER	UNIT OF ISSUE	QUANTITY
A0A	B14	0	141001139512	EA	01000
cc 1–3	cc 4–6	cc 7	cc 8–22	cc 23–24	cc 25–29

DOCUMENT NUMBER

REQUISITIONER	DATE	SERIAL	DMD CODE	SUPPLEMENTARY ADDRESS (Ship To)	SIG CODE	FUND CODE	DIST CODE	PROJECT CODE	PRIORITY CODE
W31G3H	6128	D017		W31E3E	M	FA			02
cc 30–35	cc 36–39	cc 40–43	cc 44	cc 45–50	cc 51	cc 52–53	cc 54–56	cc 57–59	cc 60–61

REQ. DEL. DATE	ADVICE CODE	DEPOT RIC FROM	PURP. CODE	COND. CODE
029		BAD	A	A
cc 62–64	cc 65–66	cc 67–69	cc 70	cc 71

	PURP. CO. TO	EDIT ACTION		ANAL. CODE (DRSM-SD)
D	[illegible]	A7		
cc 72	cc 73	cc 74–75	cc 76–77	cc 78–80

IN-THE-CLEAR ADDRESS (Ship To)

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Declassified/Released on 30 July 1987
under provisions of E.O. 12356
by B. Reger, National Security Council

UNIT PRICE #8935

EXCEPTION DATA
☐ APPROVED
☐ DISAPPROVED

JUSTIFICATION FOR TELEPHONE IPD 01–03 MRD (CHECK APPROPRIATE BLOCK)

☐ NECESSARY TO MEET SCHEDULED DEPARTURE DATE OF A VESSEL OR OTHER CARRIER.
☐ NECESSARY TO MEET SCHEDULED DEPLOYMENT DATE FOR AN OPERATION FORCE.
☐ NECESSARY TO MEET FIRM COMMITMENT FOR DELIVERY OF MATERIEL TO A COUNTRY PARTICIPATING IN INTERNATIONAL LOGISTICS PROGRAMS WHERE IT IS NECESSARY TO MEET A COMMITMENT DT.
☐ EMERGENCY REQUIREMENTS FOR MEDICAL AND DISASTER SUPPLIES.
☐ REQUISITION CONTAINS PRIORITY 01–03 IN COLUMNS 60–61 AND CODE 999 IN CARD COLUMNS 62–64.

☐ APPROVED ☐ DISAPPROVED

☐ OFF-LINE

MATERIEL ON RECORDS: ☑ DEPOT ☑ MIRCOM

DEPOT CONTACT: K. T [illegible]

PHONE-EXT. 4413

NOTE: PRIORITIES 01 THRU 08 WILL BE ROUTED THRU DRSM-SS TO DRSM-SD.
PRIORITIES 09 THRU 15 WILL BE ROUTED DIRECTLY TO DRSM-SDC.

ASSIGNED PRIORITY:
☑ APPROVED
☐ DISAPPROVED

DATE	SIGNATURE OF APPROVING AUTHORITY
28 Jun 86	
[illegible]	

DRSM-S FORM 996, 1 AUG 77 PREVIOUS EDITION IS OBSOLETE

EXHIBIT P-5

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3118

3C JAN 86

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ONE TWO THREE FOUR FIVE SIX SEVEN EIGHT

30 JAN 1986

GENERAL PURPOSE 8 FIELD

DD SINGLE LINE ITEM SYSTEM DOCUMENT (MECHANICAL)

Coord 5 pm MICOM 1/28

A5A	BAD0	1410011391512	EA 01000
W31G3H6028D017	W31G3G	M	(see HA-2) MOIC modified
GA	03029		Redstone Ars, AL
B64AA	0843500		

[redacted] Declassified/Released on 25 Jan 88
under provisions of E.O. 12356
by [illegible] Johnson, National Security Council

DD FORM 1348m 1 APR 71 EDITION OF 1 FEB 66 MAY BE USED

5191

[illegible] GAVE PRICE
(JOHN COWARD)

9 JAN 86

PRICE – AMDF – ~~Ammo Firm~~ LOT PRICE

PREPARED FROM CALL IN MRO.

For the first shipment, Mr. James Duffy, Anniston Army Depot informed me that John Coward, Item manager, Missile Command [illegible] confirmed the material release order authority [illegible] 9 Jan 86

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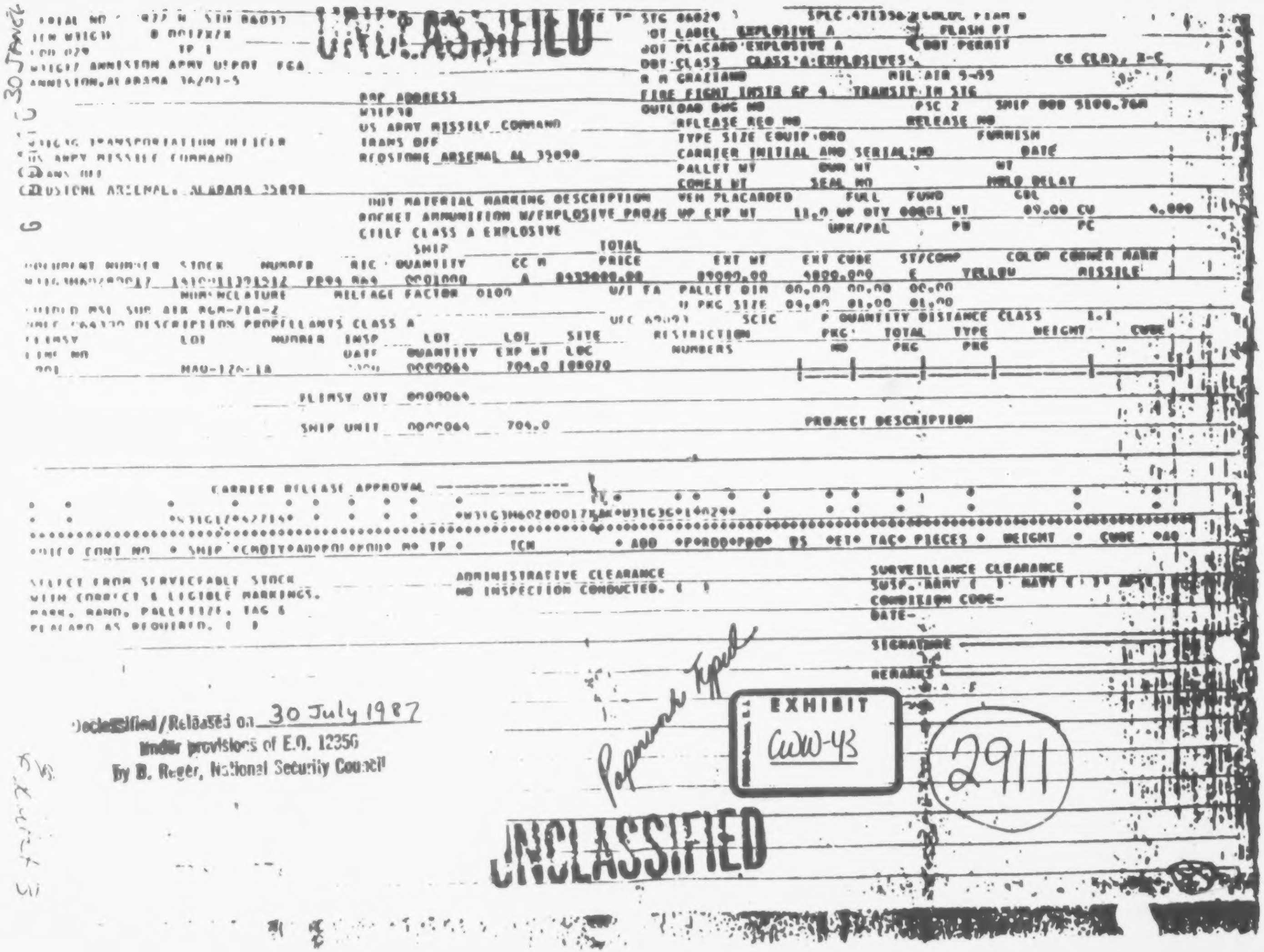
Exhibit 2



30 JAN 86

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TOTAL NO 033 H STU 86033
TEM WEIGHT 0 0017X/X
CPU 029 TP 1
W31G17 ANNISTON ARMY DEPOT FGA
ANNISTON, ALABAMA 36201-5

W31G1G TRANSPORTATION OFFICER
US ARMY MISSILE COMMAND
TRANS OFF
REDSTONE ARSENAL, ALABAMA 35898

POP ADDRESS
W31P30
US ARMY MISSILE COMMAND
TRANS OFF
REDSTONE ARSENAL AL 35898

STG 86029 SPLC 471356 COLOR PLAN
DOT LABEL EXPLOSIVE A FLASH PT
DOT PLACARD EXPLOSIVE A DOT PERMIT
DOT CLASS CLASS A EXPLOSIVES CG CLAS, B-C
R M GRAZIANO MIL AIR 9-55
FIRE FIGHT INSTR GP 4 TRANSIT IN STG
OUTLOAD DWG NO PSC 2 SHIP DOD 5100.76M
RELEASE REQ NO RELEASE NO
TYPE SIZE EQUIP ORD FURNISH
CARRIER INITIAL AND SERIAL NO DATE
PALLET WT DUN WT WT
CONEX WT SEAL NO HOLD DELAY

UNIT MATERIAL MARKING DESCRIPTION VEH PLACARDED FULL FUND CBL
ROCKET AMMUNITION W/EXPLOSIVE PROJE UP EXP WT 11.0 UP QTY 00001 WT 09.00 CU 4.000
CTILF CLASS A EXPLOSIVE UPK/PAL PW PC

DOCUMENT NUMBER	STOCK NUMBER	RIC	SHIP QUANTITY	CC M	TOTAL PRICE	EXT WT	EXT CUBE	ST/COMP	COLOR	CORNER MARK
W31G3H6020017	1410011391512 PR94	B69	0001000	A	8335000.00	89099.00	4809.000	E	YELLOW	MISSILE

NOMENCLATURE MILEAGE FACTOR 0100 U/I FA PALLET DIM 00.00 00.00 00.00
GUIDED MSL SUR AIR BGM-71A-2 U PKG SIZE 04.00 01.00 01.00
UNIT CHARGE DESCRIPTION PROPELLANTS CLASS A UFC 69091 SCIC P QUANTITY DISTANCE CLASS 1.1

FLIMSY LINE NO	LOT NUMBER	INSP DATE	LOT QUANTITY	LOT EXP WT	SITE LOC	RESTRICTION NUMBERS	PKG NO	TOTAL PKG	TYPE PKG	WEIGHT	CUBE
001	MAU-126-1A	[illegible]	0000064	704.0	100070						

FLIMSY QTY 0000064

SHIP UNIT 0000064 704.0

PROJECT DESCRIPTION

CARRIER RELEASE APPROVAL

*W31G17*6277140* *W31G3H6020017* *W31G3G*100290*

DIC CONT NO * SHIP *CMDTY*ADV*POE*POD* NO TP * TCN * ADD *PORDD*PD* DS *ETA* TAC* PIECES * WEIGHT * CUBE *AQ

SELECT FROM SERVICEABLE STOCK
WITH CORRECT & LEGIBLE MARKINGS.
MARK, BAND, PALLETIZE, TAG &
PLACARD AS REQUIRED. ( )

ADMINISTRATIVE CLEARANCE
NO INSPECTION CONDUCTED. ( )

SURVEILLANCE CLEARANCE
SUSP. ARMY ( ) NAVY ( ) AF ( )
CONDITION CODE-
DATE-
SIGNATURE
REMARKS

[illegible] Typed

EXHIBIT
CWW-43

2911

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Exhibit 3

30 JAN 86

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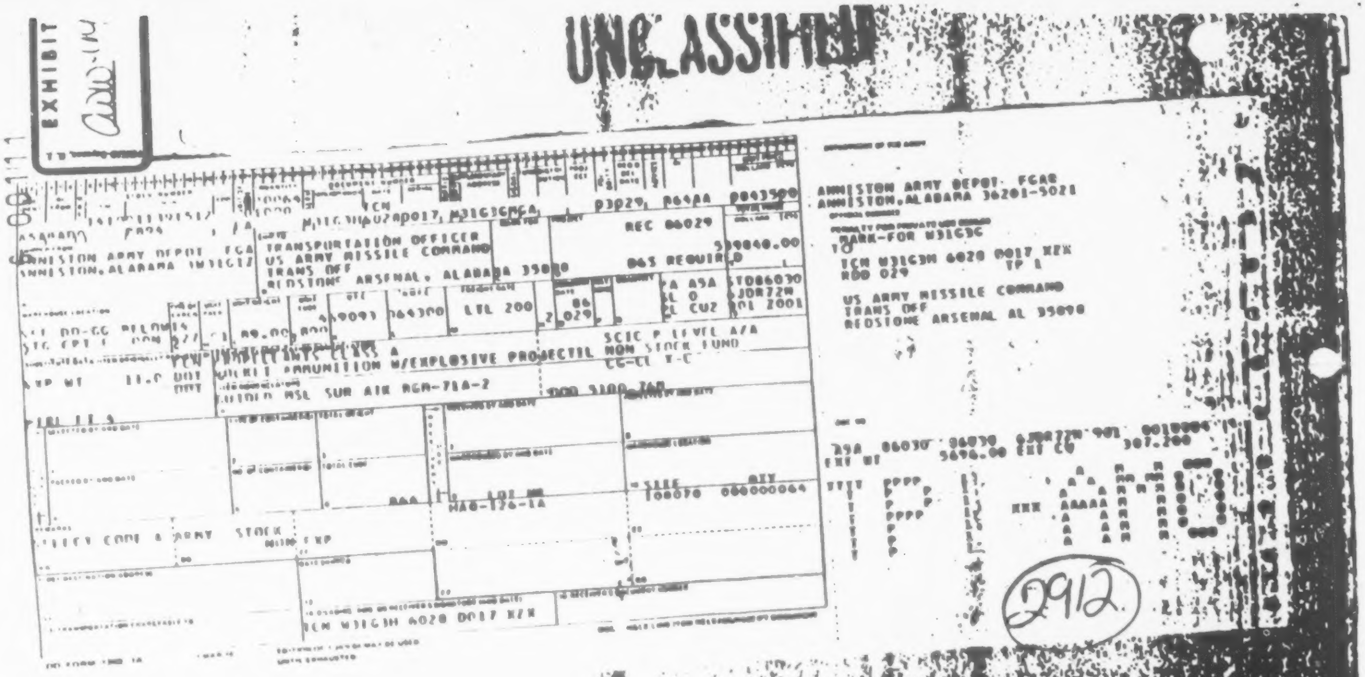
EXHIBIT CWD-114

00111



P3P29, P64AA P043500

TCN M31G3M6020D017, M31G3GMGA

REC 06029

ASA0A00 F020 1 A

ANNISTON ARMY DEPOT FGA

ANNISTON, ALABAMA W31G17

TRANSPORTATION OFFICER

US ARMY MISSILE COMMAND

TRANS OFF

REDSTONE ARSENAL, ALABAMA 35090

$90040.00

DAS REQUIRED

A49091 064300 LTL 200 2 029 06

A ASA

L 0

L CUZ

ST086030

JOR72W

01 2001

SCIC P LEVEL A/A

NON STOCK FUND

CG-CL Y-C

ROCKET AMMUNITION W/EXPLOSIVE PROJECTIL

GUIDED MSL SUR AIR RGM-71A-2

DOD 5100 TAR

EXP WT 11.0

LOT NO

MAG-176-1A

SIZE 100070

QTY 000000064

TCN W31G3M 6020 D017 XZX

ANNISTON ARMY DEPOT FGAR

ANNISTON, ALABAMA 36201-5021

MARK-FOR W31G3C

TO

TCN W31G3M 6020 D017 XZX

RDD 029 TP 1

US ARMY MISSILE COMMAND

TRANS OFF

REDSTONE ARSENAL AL 35090

ASA 06030 06030 W31G3M 001 0010000

EXT WT 5696.00 EXT CU 307.200

TP L XXX AMO

2912

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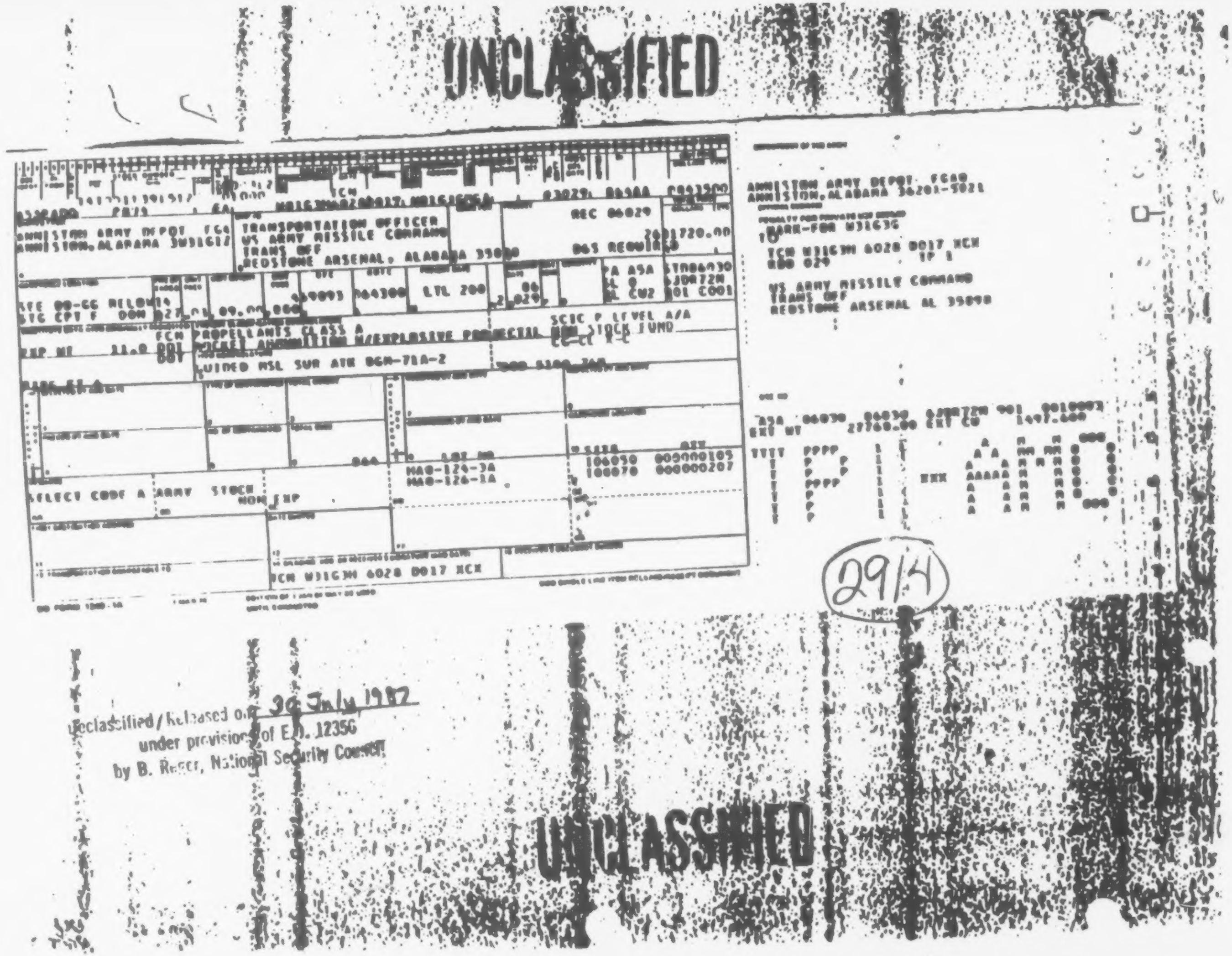
by B. Reger, National Security Council



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TCN

W31G3H6028D017, W31G3G2A ... 83029, B8AAA C9435(00)

EA

ANNISTON ARMY DEPOT FCG
ANNISTON, ALABAMA 3W31G12

TRANSPORTATION OFFICER
US ARMY MISSILE COMMAND
TRANS OFF
REDSTONE ARSENAL, ALABAMA 35898

REC 06029

2081720.00

DSS REQUIRED

LTL 200

06 029

PA ASA
AL 0
AL CU2

STR06930
SJDR72H
D01 C001

SEE DD-CC RELOWLS
STG CPT F DDN B27 ... 09.00 008

PROPELLANTS CLASS A
ROCKET AMMUNITION W/EXPLOSIVE PROJECTILE

SCIC P LEVEL A/A
NON STOCK FUND
CC-CC X-C

EXP WT 11.0

FCN
D01
D0T

GUIDED MSL SUR ATK BGM-71A-2

LOT NO
MAO-124-3A
MAO-126-1A

SERIAL QTY
106050 000000105
100070 000000207

SELECT CODE A ARMY STOCK
NON EXP

TCN W31G3H 6028 D017 XCX

DD FORM 1348-1A

ANNISTON ARMY DEPOT FCAO
ANNISTON, ALABAMA 36201-5021

MARK-FOR W31G3G
TO

TCN W31G3H 6028 D017 XCX
RDD 029 TP 1

US ARMY MISSILE COMMAND
TRANS OFF
REDSTONE ARSENAL AL 35898

ASA 06030 06030 SJDR72H 001 001000
EXT WT 27760.00 EXT CU 1497.000

TP I I - AMO

29/4

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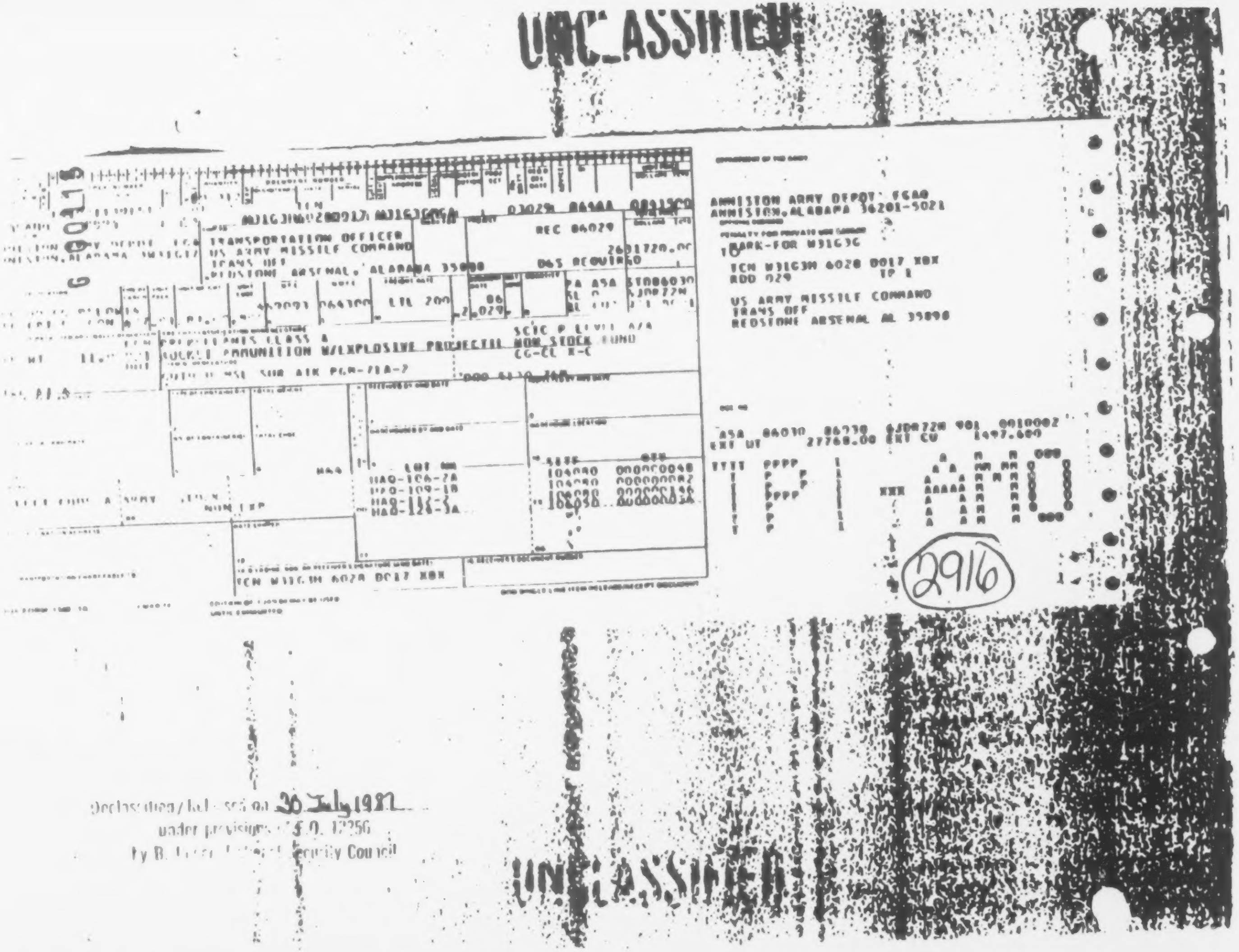

G 00115

W31G3H6028D017 W31G3G06GA 1 03029 B696A 08115CO

TRANSPORTATION OFFICER
US ARMY MISSILE COMMAND
TRANS OFF
REDSTONE ARSENAL, ALABAMA 35898

REC 06029
2601720.00
DGS REQUIRED

LTL 200
06
029
ZA ASA
6JD8772N

SCIC P LEVEL A/A
NON STOCK FUND
CG-CL X-C

ITEMS CLASS A
ROCKET AMMUNITION W/EXPLOSIVE PROJECTILE
MSL SUR AIR PGM-71A-7

LOT NO	SIZE	QTY
HAO-106-7A	104080	00000048
HAO-109-1B	104080	00000082
HAO-11[illegible]-5	[illegible]	[illegible]
HAO-126-3A	[illegible]	[illegible]

TCN W31G3H 6028 D017 XBX

ANNISTON ARMY DEPOT FGA0
ANNISTON, ALABAMA 36201-5021

MARK-FOR W31G3G

TCN W31G3H 6028 D017 XBX
RDD 029 TP 1

US ARMY MISSILE COMMAND
TRANS OFF
REDSTONE ARSENAL AL 35898

ASA 06030 06730 6JD8772N 901 0010002
EXT WT 27760.00 EXT CU 1497.600

TPI AMO

2916

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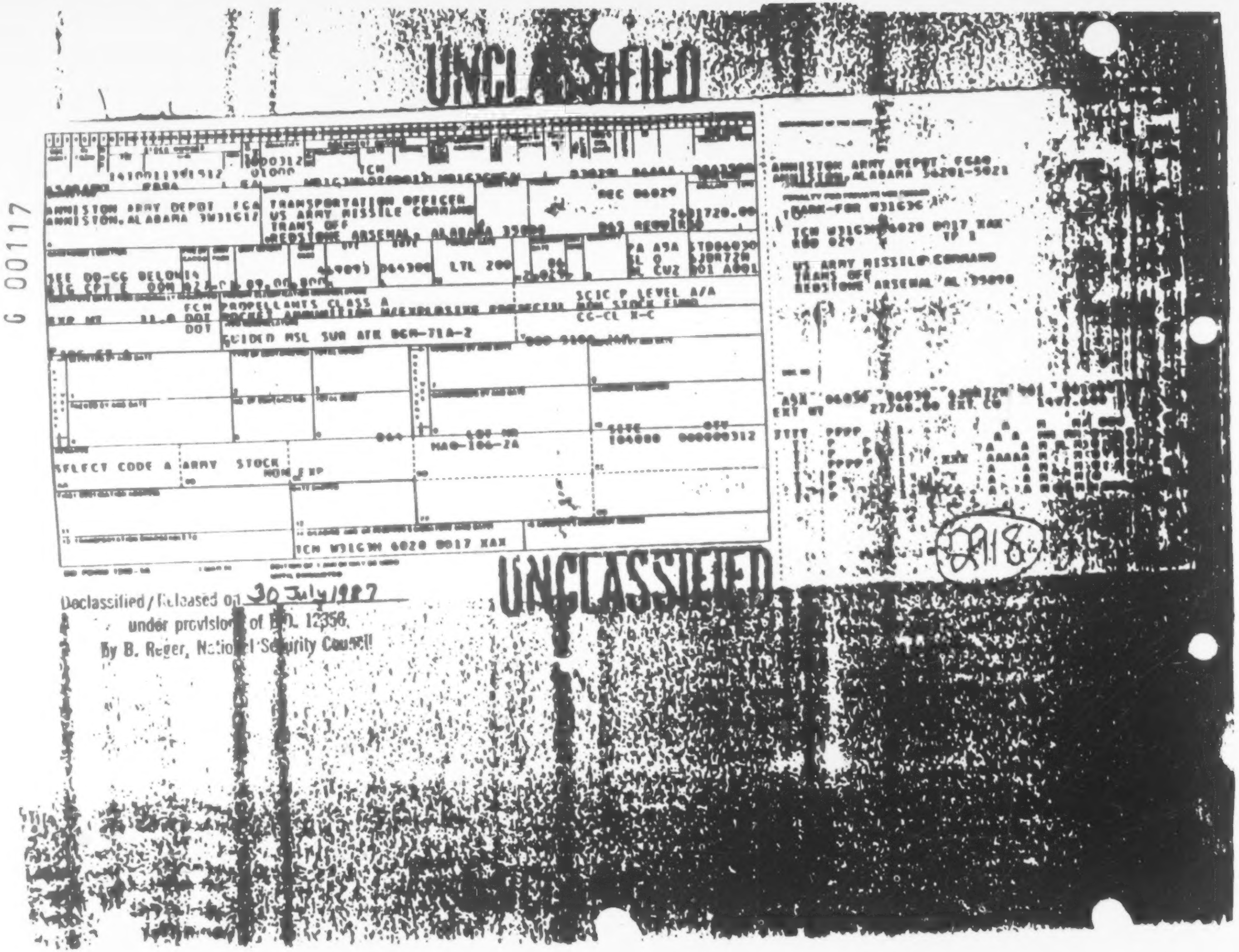
by B. [illegible] National Security Council

G 00117



UNCLASSIFIED

1410011391512 FRBA EA 000312 01000

TCN

ANNISTON ARMY DEPOT FCA
ANNISTON, ALABAMA 3W31G17

TRANSPORTATION OFFICER
US ARMY MISSILE COMMAND
TRANS OFF
REDSTONE ARSENAL, ALABAMA 35898

REC 00029

DSS REQUIRED

2021720.00

SEE DD-CC BELOW
BIG CPT E

LTL 200

ZA ASA
L O
CUZ

PROPELLANTS CLASS A
ROCKET AMMUNITION W/EXPLOSIVE PROJECTILE

FCN
DOT
DOT

EXP WT 11.0

GUIDED MSL SUR ATK BGM-71A-2

SCIC P LEVEL A/A
NON STOCK FUND
CC-CL X-C

MAO-106-2A

104000 000000312

SELECT CODE A ARMY STOCK NON EXP

TCN W31G3M 6020 0017 XAX

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by B. Reger, National Security Council

ANNISTON ARMY DEPOT FCA0
ANNISTON, ALABAMA 36201-5021

MARK-FOR W31G3G

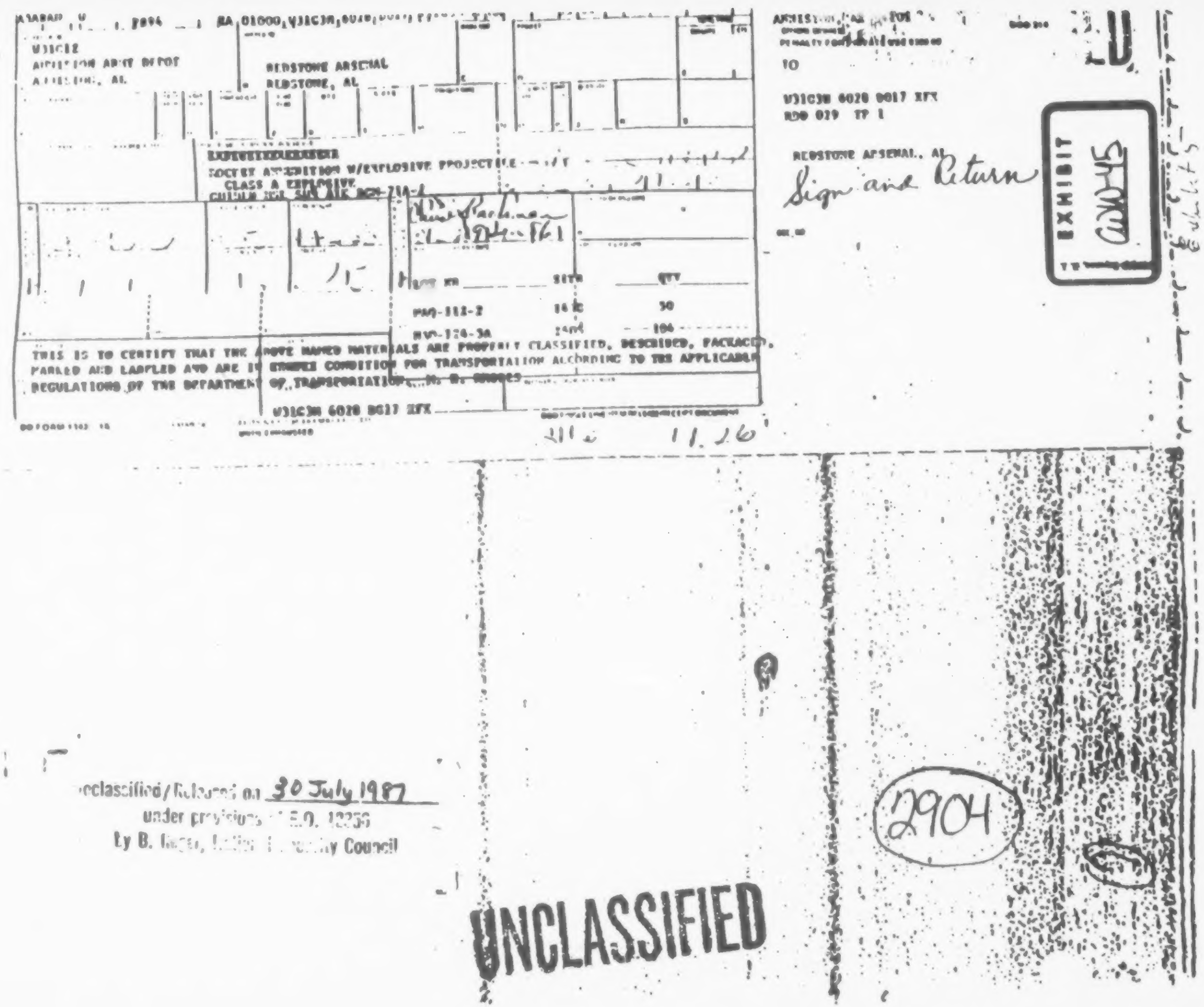
TCN W31G3M 6020 0017 XAX
REC 029 TP 1

US ARMY MISSILE COMMAND
TRANS OFF
REDSTONE ARSENAL AL 35898

ASN
EXT WT 27760.00 EXT CO

3918

G 00103
26 Jan 86



1. 7994 RA 01000 W31C3M
W31C12
ANNISTON ARMY DEPOT
ANNISTON, AL

REDSTONE ARSENAL
REDSTONE, AL

ROCKET AMMUNITION W/EXPLOSIVE PROJECTILE
CLASS A EXPLOSIVE
CHILLIN SUN AIK

PART NO	SIZE	QTY
PAQ-112-2	16 [illegible]	30
MVP-120-3A	[illegible]	100

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT THE ABOVE NAMED MATERIALS ARE PROPERLY CLASSIFIED, DESCRIBED, PACKAGED, MARKED AND LABELED AND ARE IN PROPER CONDITION FOR TRANSPORTATION ACCORDING TO THE APPLICABLE REGULATIONS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION.

W31C3M 6020 0017 XFX

DD FORM 1387

11.26

ANNISTON ARMY DEPOT
TO
W31C3M 6020 0017 XFX
RDO 029 TP 1
REDSTONE ARSENAL, AL
Sign and Return

EXHIBIT
CWD-45

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2904

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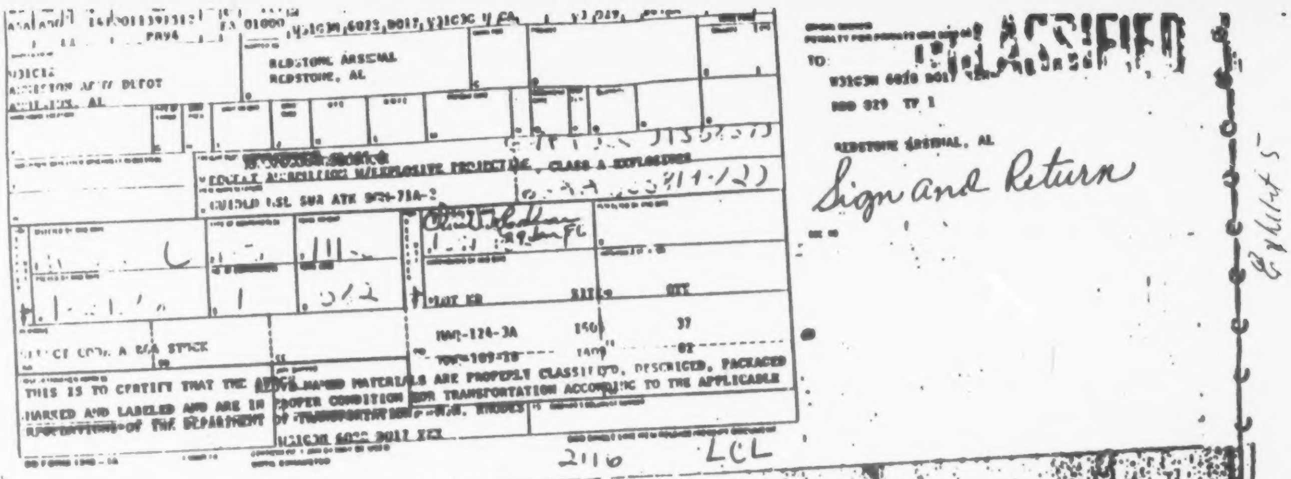
by B. Reger, National Security Council



UNCLASSIFIED

PAY4

ANNISTON ARMY DEPOT

ANNISTON, AL

FA 01000 W31G3M 6023 0017 W31G3G

REDSTONE ARSENAL

REDSTONE, AL

J15 2573

AMMUNITION FOR CANNON W/EXPLOSIVE PROJECTILE, CLASS A EXPLOSIVES

(11-12)

GUIDED MSL SUR ATK BGM-71A-2

PART NR	SIZE	QTY
BGM-124-3A	1560	37

LOC CODE A BGA STACK

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT THE ABOVE NAMED MATERIALS ARE PROPERLY CLASSIFIED, DESCRIBED, PACKAGED MARKED AND LABELED AND ARE IN PROPER CONDITION FOR TRANSPORTATION ACCORDING TO THE APPLICABLE REGULATIONS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION

W31G3M 6023 0017 XXX

DD FORM 1348-1A

2116 LCL

TO:

W31G3M 6020 0017

000 029 TP 1

REDSTONE ARSENAL, AL

Sign and Return

Exhibit 5

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by B. Reger, National Security Council

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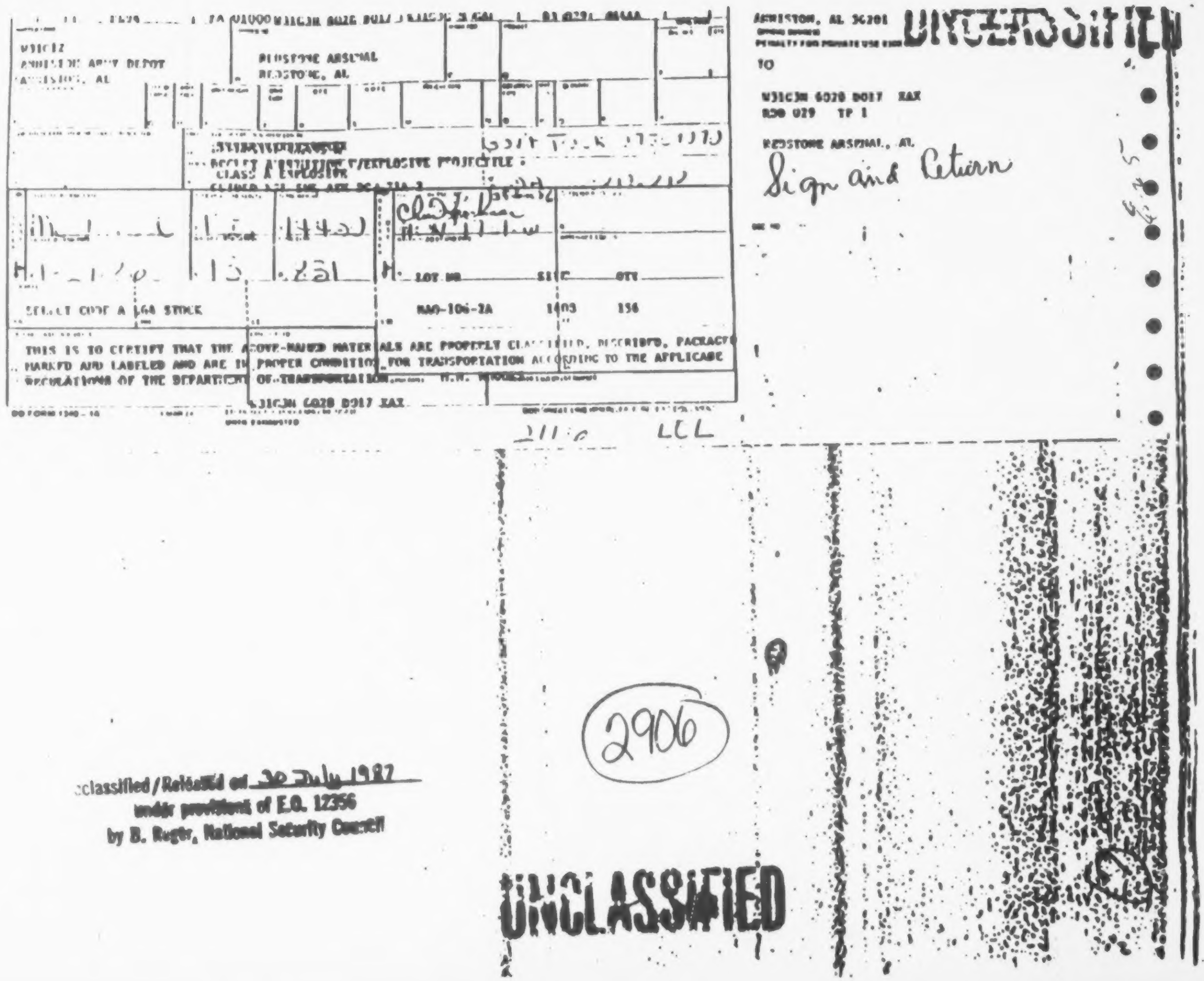
2905



W31C1Z
ANNISTON ARMY DEPOT
ANNISTON, AL

REDSTONE ARSENAL
REDSTONE, AL

ROCKET AMMUNITION W/EXPLOSIVE PROJECTILE :
CLASS A EXPLOSIVE

G317 TOW 1372 1373

SELECT CODE A L64 STOCK

LOT NO	SIZE	QTY
NAO-106-2A	1403	156

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT THE ABOVE-NAMED MATERIALS ARE PROPERLY CLASSIFIED, DESCRIBED, PACKAGED, MARKED AND LABELED AND ARE IN PROPER CONDITION FOR TRANSPORTATION ACCORDING TO THE APPLICABLE REGULATIONS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION.

W31G3N 6020 D017 XAX

DD FORM 1348-1A

211e LCL

ANNISTON, AL 36201
OFFICIAL BUSINESS
PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE $300

UNCLASSIFIED

TO

W31G3N 6020 D017 XAX
R20 U29 TP 1

REDSTONE ARSENAL, AL.

Sign and Return

2906

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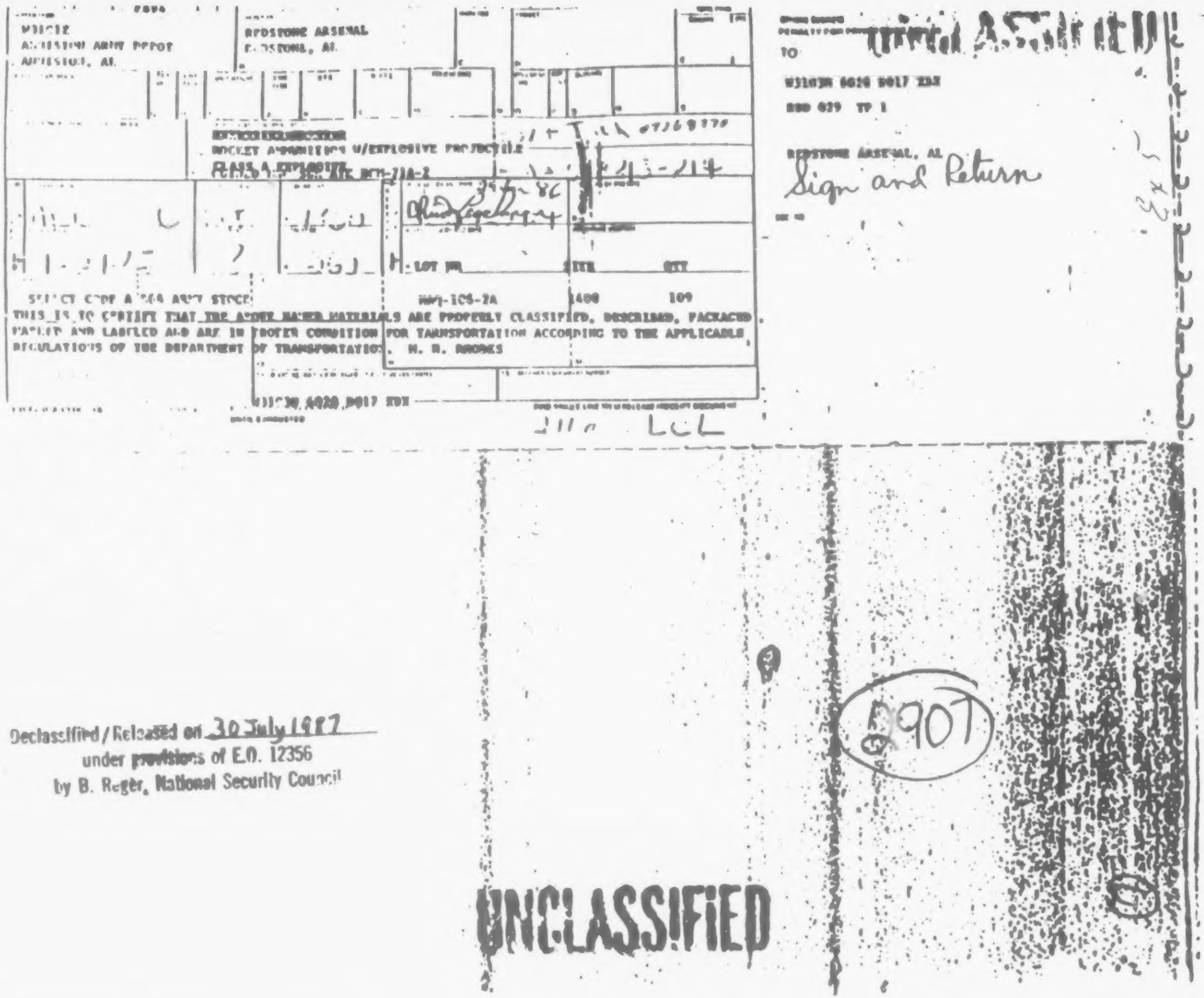

W31G1Z
ANNISTON ARMY DEPOT
ANNISTON, AL

REDSTONE ARSENAL
REDSTONE, AL.

ROCKET AMMUNITION W/EXPLOSIVE PROJECTILE
CLASS A EXPLOSIVE [illegible] BGM-71A-2

213-214

3-7-86

LOT NR	[illegible]	QTY
HAP-1CS-2A	1400	109

SELECT CODE A [illegible] ARMY STOCK

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT THE ABOVE NAMED MATERIALS ARE PROPERLY CLASSIFIED, DESCRIBED, PACKAGED MARKED AND LABELED AND ARE IN PROPER CONDITION FOR TRANSPORTATION ACCORDING TO THE APPLICABLE REGULATIONS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION. H. R. RHODES

W31G3M 6020 D017 XDX

LCL

UNCLASSIFIED

TO

W31G3N 6020 D017 XAX

RRD 029 TP 1

REDSTONE ARSENAL, AL

Sign and Return

2907

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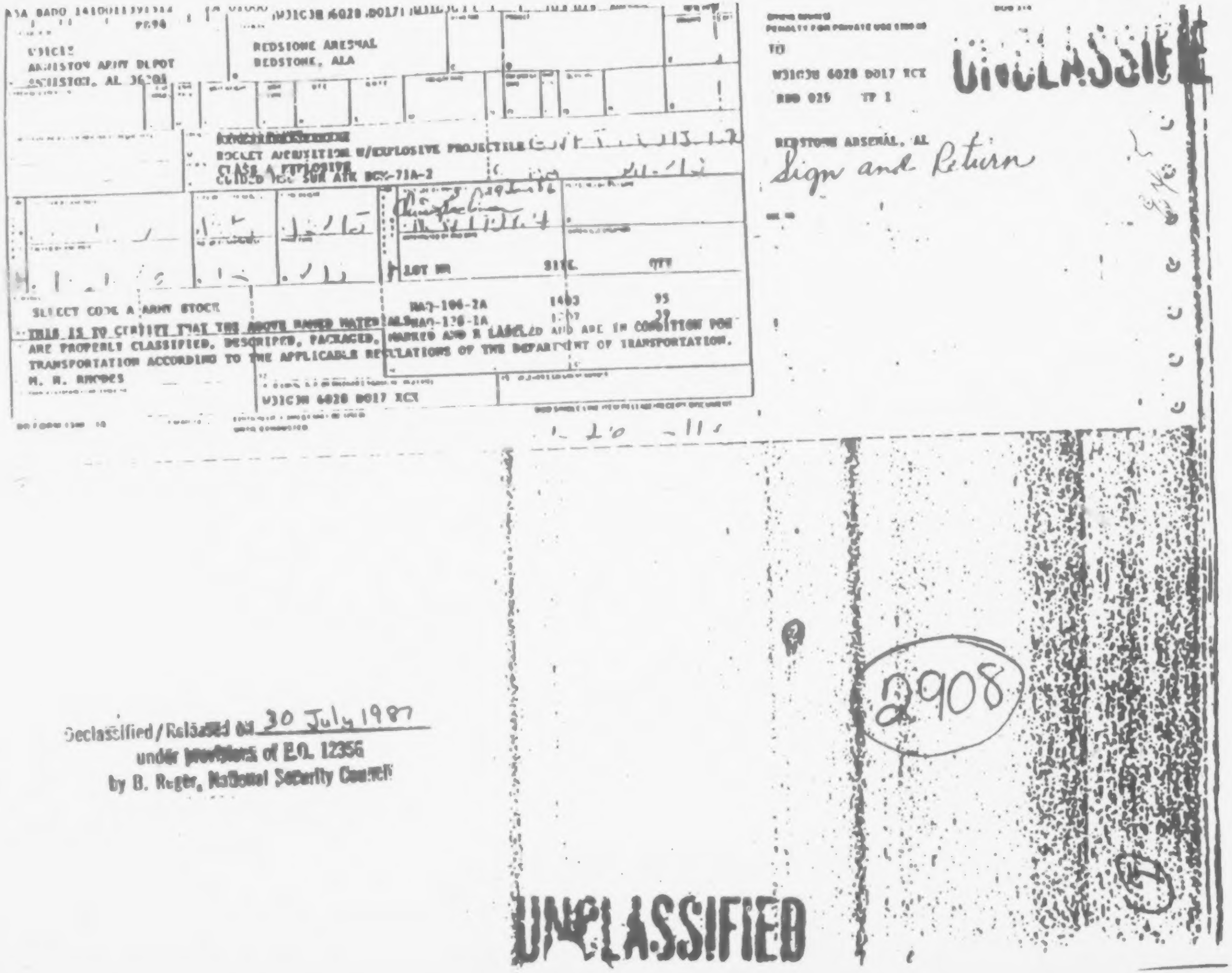
by B. Reger, National Security Council



SA DADO 1410011391344

W31G1Z
ANNISTON ARMY DEPOT
ANNISTON, AL 36201

W31G3B 6028 D0171

REDSTONE ARSENAL
REDSTONE, ALA

ROCKET AMMUNITION W/EXPLOSIVE PROJECTILE
CLASS A EXPLOSIVE
GUIDED MSL SUR ATK BGM-71A-2

LOT NR	SIZE	QTY
MAQ-106-2A	1403	95
MAQ-128-1A	[illegible]	39

SELECT CODE A ARMY STOCK

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT THE ABOVE NAMED MATERIALS ARE PROPERLY CLASSIFIED, DESCRIBED, PACKAGED, MARKED AND LABELED AND ARE IN CONDITION FOR TRANSPORTATION ACCORDING TO THE APPLICABLE REGULATIONS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION.

M. R. RHODES

W31G3B 6028 D017 XCX

DD FORM 1348 - 1A

TO

W31G3B 6028 D017 XCX

RDD 025 TP 1

REDSTONE ARSENAL, AL

Sign and Return

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2908

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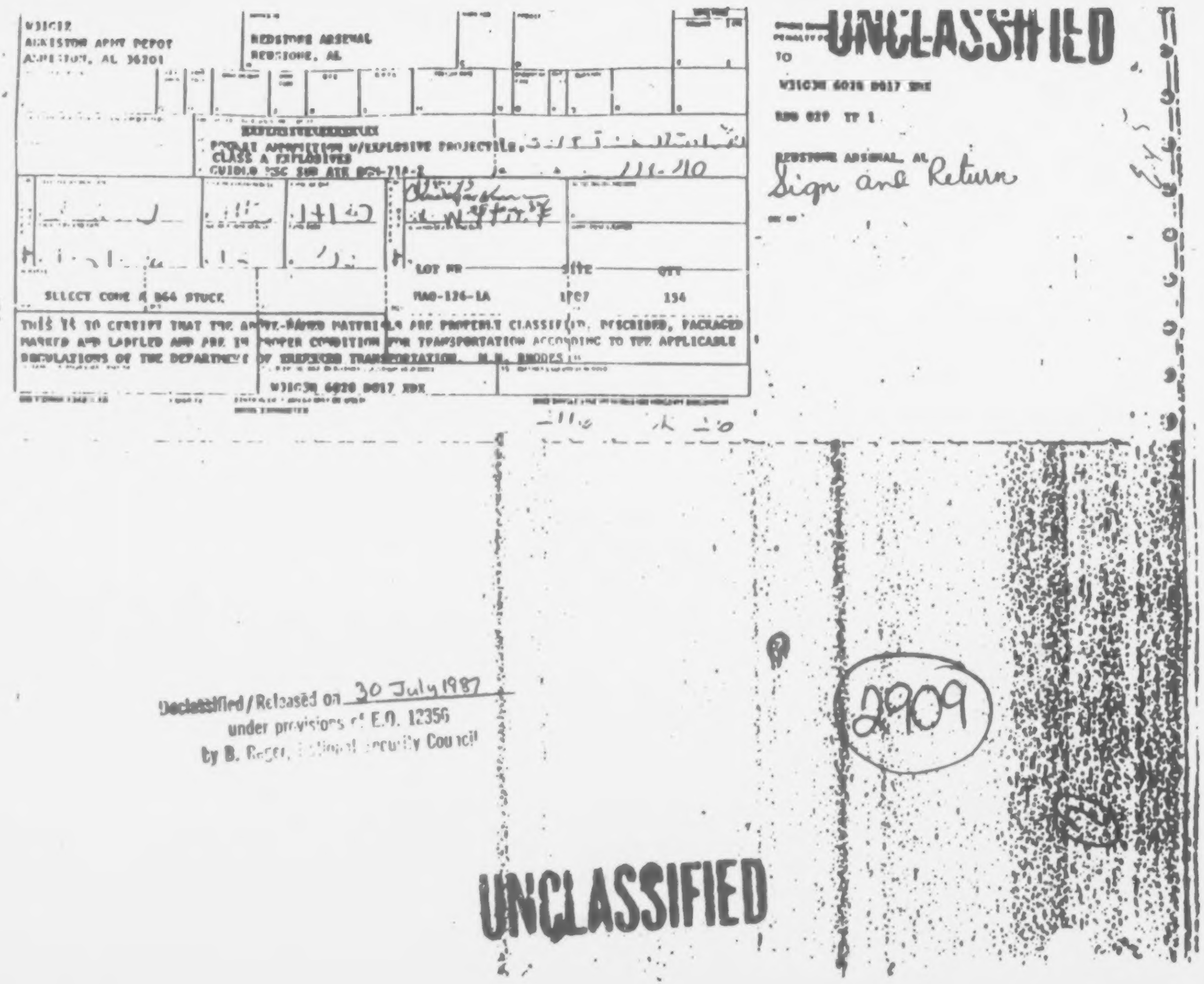

W31G1Z
ANNISTON ARMY DEPOT
ANNISTON, AL 36201

REDSTONE ARSENAL
REDSTONE, AL

POWDER AMMUNITION W/EXPLOSIVE PROJECTILE,
CLASS A EXPLOSIVES
GUIDED MSL SUB ATE

111-110

LOT NR — SIZE — QTY

MAO-126-LA 1P67 154

SELECT CODE A 064 STOCK

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT THE ABOVE-NAMED MATERIALS ARE PROPERLY CLASSIFIED, DESCRIBED, PACKAGED MARKED AND LABELED AND ARE IN PROPER CONDITION FOR TRANSPORTATION ACCORDING TO THE APPLICABLE REGULATIONS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION. M.N. RHODES

W31G3M 6020 0017 XDX

UNCLASSIFIED

TO

W31G3M 6020 0017 XDX

RDD 029 TP 1

REDSTONE ARSENAL, AL

Sign and Return

2909

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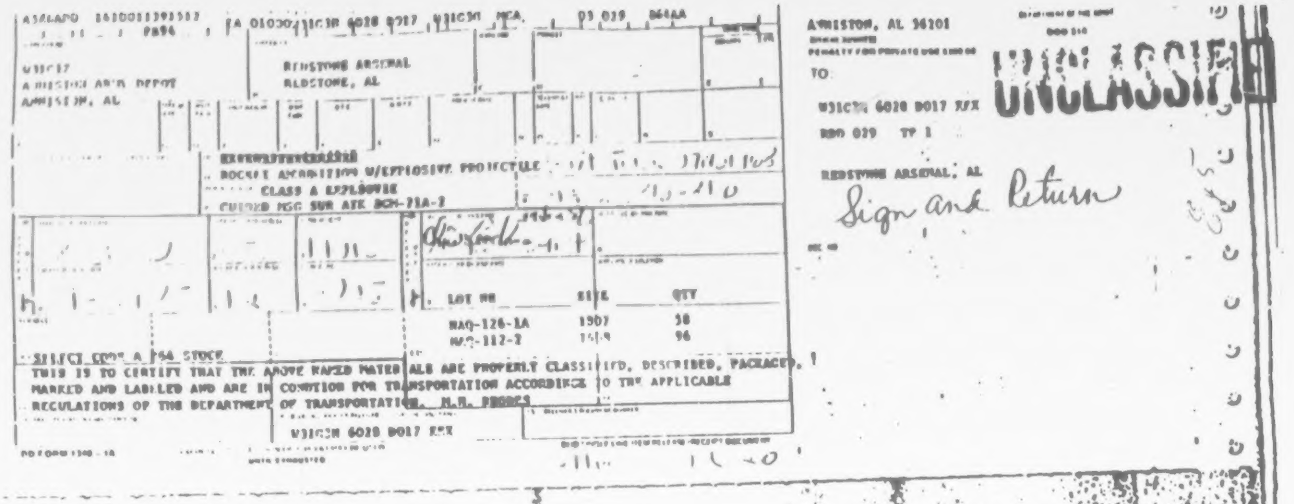
G 00108



A5ALAPO 1410011391582 FA 01030 W31C3R 6028 0017 W31C3M MCA 03 029 B64AA

PA94

W31C17
ANNISTON ARMY DEPOT
ANNISTON, AL

REDSTONE ARSENAL
REDSTONE, AL

ROCKET AMMUNITION W/EXPLOSIVE PROJECTILE
CLASS A EXPLOSIVE
GUIDED MSL SUR ATK BGM-71A-2

LOT NR	SIZE	QTY
NAQ-126-1A	1907	58
NAQ-112-2	1419	96

SELECT COND A PSA STOCK

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT THE ABOVE NAMED MATERIALS ARE PROPERLY CLASSIFIED, DESCRIBED, PACKAGED, MARKED AND LABELLED AND ARE IN CONDITION FOR TRANSPORTATION ACCORDING TO THE APPLICABLE REGULATIONS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION. M.R. PROBES

W31C3M 6028 0017 XXX

DD FORM 1348-1A

ANNISTON, AL 36201

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY
DOD 314

TO:

W31C3M 6028 0017 XXX
RDO 029 TP 1

REDSTONE ARSENAL, AL

Sign and Return

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2910

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UNCLASSIFIED

13 Feb 86

SHIPPED FROM
Redstone Arsenal

SHIP TO
MAJ Chris Simpson
HQDA ODCSLOG
DALO-SMU-LA, Wash, DC 20310-0547

FREIGHT RATE

FREIGHT CLASSIFICATION NOMENCLATURE
Rocket Ammunition W/Explosive Projectile
~~Propellant Explosive~~
ITEM NOMENCLATURE
Guided Msl Sur Atk BGM-71A-2

SELECTED BY AND DATE
TYPE OF CONTAINER
TOTAL WEIGHT
RECEIVED BY AND DATE
INSPECTED BY AND DATE
PACKED BY AND DATE
NO OF CONTAINERS
TOTAL CUBE
WAREHOUSED BY AND DATE
WAREHOUSE LOCATION

FIRST DESTINATION ADDRESS
Oakland Army Terminal
Oakland, CA

DATE SHIPPED
13 Feb 86

TRANSPORTATION CHARGEABLE TO
DALO-SMU-LA

MAJ Chris Simpson SSN 199-42-9662
DALO-SMU-LA

RECEIVER'S DOCUMENT NUMBER

DD FORM 1348-1 1 JAN 84
EDITION OF 1 AUG 81 MAY BE USED
DOD SINGLE LINE ITEM RELEASE/RECEIPT DOCUMENT

1

6 00138

EXHIBIT
CWD-46

2939

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by B. Reger, National Security Council

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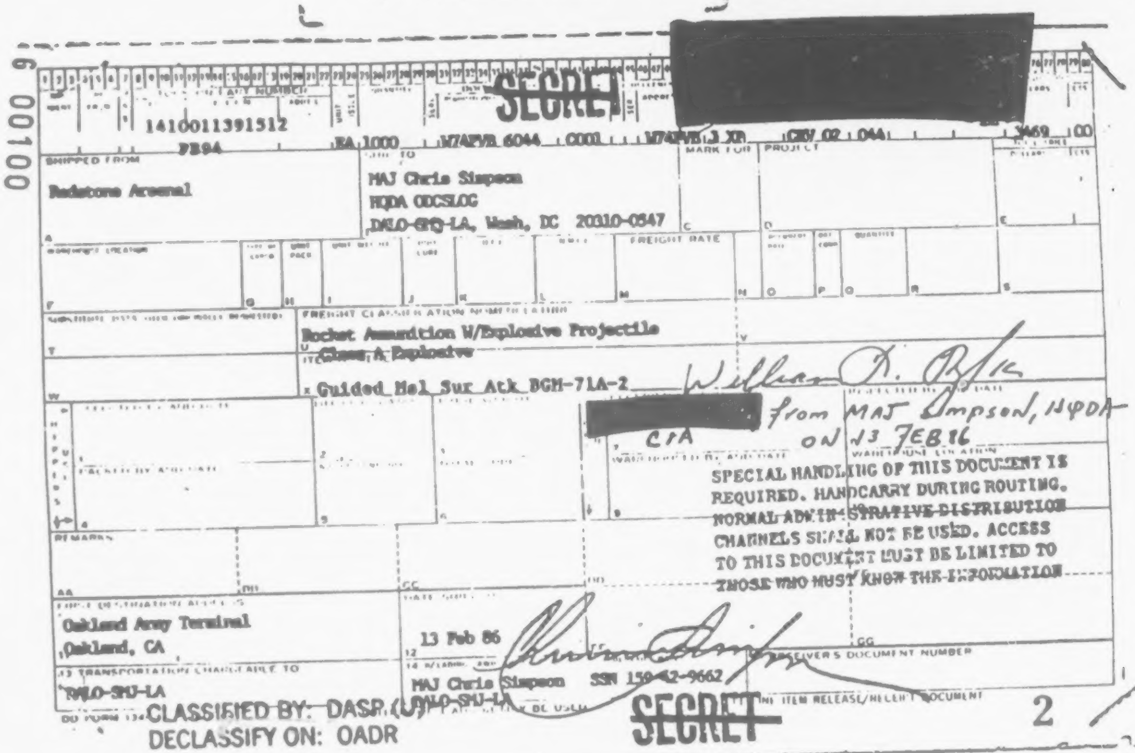

6 00100

SECRET

[redacted]

1410011391512

PB94

EA 1000 W7APVB 6044 C001 W74PVB 3 XR CRV 02 044 3469 00

SHIPPED FROM
Redstone Arsenal

SHIP TO
MAJ Chris Simpson
HQDA ODCSLOG
DALO-SMQ-LA, Wash, DC 20310-0547

MARK FOR

PROJECT

FREIGHT RATE

FREIGHT CLASSIFICATION NOMENCLATURE
Rocket Ammunition W/Explosive Projectile
~~Class A Explosive~~

ITEM NOMENCLATURE
Guided Msl Sur Atk BGM-71A-2

William R.

[redacted] from MAJ Simpson, HQDA
CIA on 13 FEB 86

SPECIAL HANDLING OF THIS DOCUMENT IS REQUIRED. HANDCARRY DURING ROUTING. NORMAL ADMINISTRATIVE DISTRIBUTION CHANNELS SHALL NOT BE USED. ACCESS TO THIS DOCUMENT MUST BE LIMITED TO THOSE WHO MUST KNOW THE INFORMATION

REMARKS

Oakland Army Terminal
Oakland, CA

13 Feb 86

TRANSPORTATION CHARGEABLE TO
DALO-SMU-LA

MAJ Chris Simpson SSN 150-42-9662
DALO-SMU-LA

RECEIVER'S DOCUMENT NUMBER

ITEM RELEASE/RECEIPT DOCUMENT

DD FORM 1348

CLASSIFIED BY: DASP (U)
DECLASSIFY ON: OADR

~~SECRET~~

2

2901

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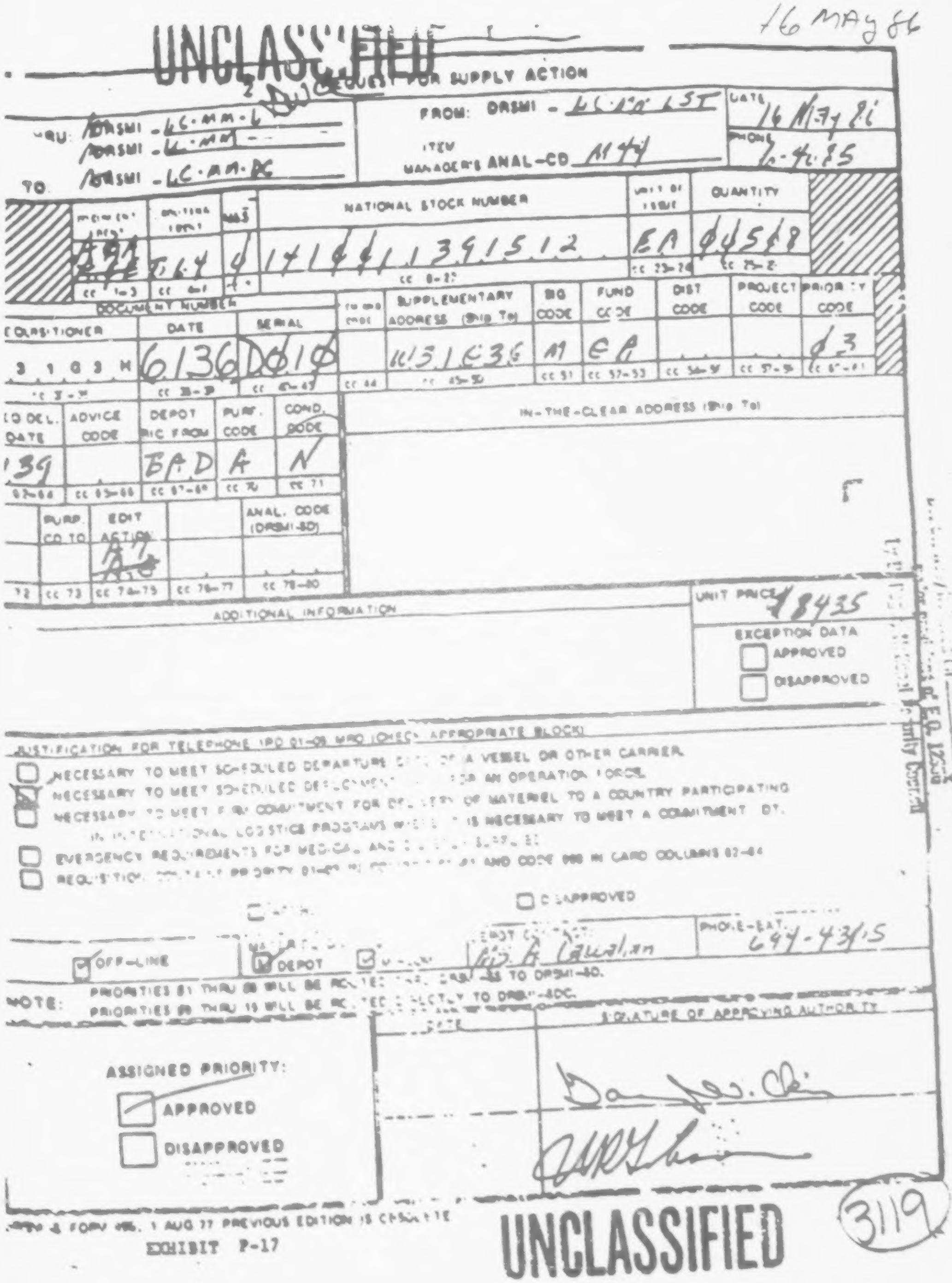


16 MAY 86

UNCLASSIFIED

REQUEST FOR SUPPLY ACTION

2 Dup

THRU: DRSMI - LC-MM-L
DRSMI - LC-MM
TO: DRSMI - LC-MM-PC

FROM: DRSMI - LC-MM-LST
ITEM MANAGER'S ANAL-CD M44

DATE 16 May 86
PHONE 2-4635

DOCUMENT IDENT	ROUTING IDENT	M&S	NATIONAL STOCK NUMBER	UNIT OF ISSUE	QUANTITY
A01	TL4	0	1410011391512	EA	00500
cc 1-3	cc 4-6	cc 7	cc 8-22	cc 23-24	cc 25-29

DOCUMENT NUMBER

REQUISITIONER	DATE	SERIAL	DEMAND CODE	SUPPLEMENTARY ADDRESS (Ship To)	SIG CODE	FUND CODE	DIST CODE	PROJECT CODE	PRIORITY CODE
3 1 0 3 H	6136	D010		W31C36	M	CA			03
cc 30-35	cc 36-39	cc 40-43	cc 44	cc 45-50	cc 51	cc 52-53	cc 54-56	cc 57-59	cc 60-61

REQD DEL. DATE	ADVICE CODE	DEPOT RIC FROM	PURP. CODE	COND. CODE
139		BAD	A	N
cc 62-64	cc 65-66	cc 67-69	cc 70	cc 71

IN-THE-CLEAR ADDRESS (Ship To)

	PURP. CD TO	EDIT ACTION		ANAL. CODE (DRSMI-SD)
		A7		
cc 72	cc 73	cc 74-75	cc 76-77	cc 78-80

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

UNIT PRICE $8435

EXCEPTION DATA
☐ APPROVED
☐ DISAPPROVED

JUSTIFICATION FOR TELEPHONE (PD 01-08) MRO (CHECK APPROPRIATE BLOCK)

☐ NECESSARY TO MEET SCHEDULED DEPARTURE DATE OF A VESSEL OR OTHER CARRIER.
☒ NECESSARY TO MEET SCHEDULED DEPLOYMENT [illegible] FOR AN OPERATIONAL FORCE.
☐ NECESSARY TO MEET FIRM COMMITMENT FOR DELIVERY OF MATERIEL TO A COUNTRY PARTICIPATING IN INTERNATIONAL LOGISTICS PROGRAMS WHERE IT IS NECESSARY TO MEET A COMMITMENT DT. [illegible] SUPPLIES
☐ EMERGENCY REQUIREMENTS FOR MEDICAL AND [illegible]
☐ REQUISITION [illegible] PRIORITY 01-03 [illegible] AND CODE 999 IN CARD COLUMNS 62-64

☐ [illegible] ☐ DISAPPROVED

☑ OFF-LINE ☑ DEPOT ☑ [illegible]
DEPOT CONTACT: Mrs. A. Callahan
PHONE-EXT. 694-4315

NOTE: PRIORITIES 01 THRU 08 WILL BE ROUTED THRU DRSMI-SS TO DRSMI-SD.
PRIORITIES 09 THRU 15 WILL BE ROUTED DIRECTLY TO DRSMI-SDC.

ASSIGNED PRIORITY:
☑ APPROVED
☐ DISAPPROVED

DATE

SIGNATURE OF APPROVING AUTHORITY

Dan [illegible]

[illegible] FORM 486, 1 AUG 77 PREVIOUS EDITION IS OBSOLETE

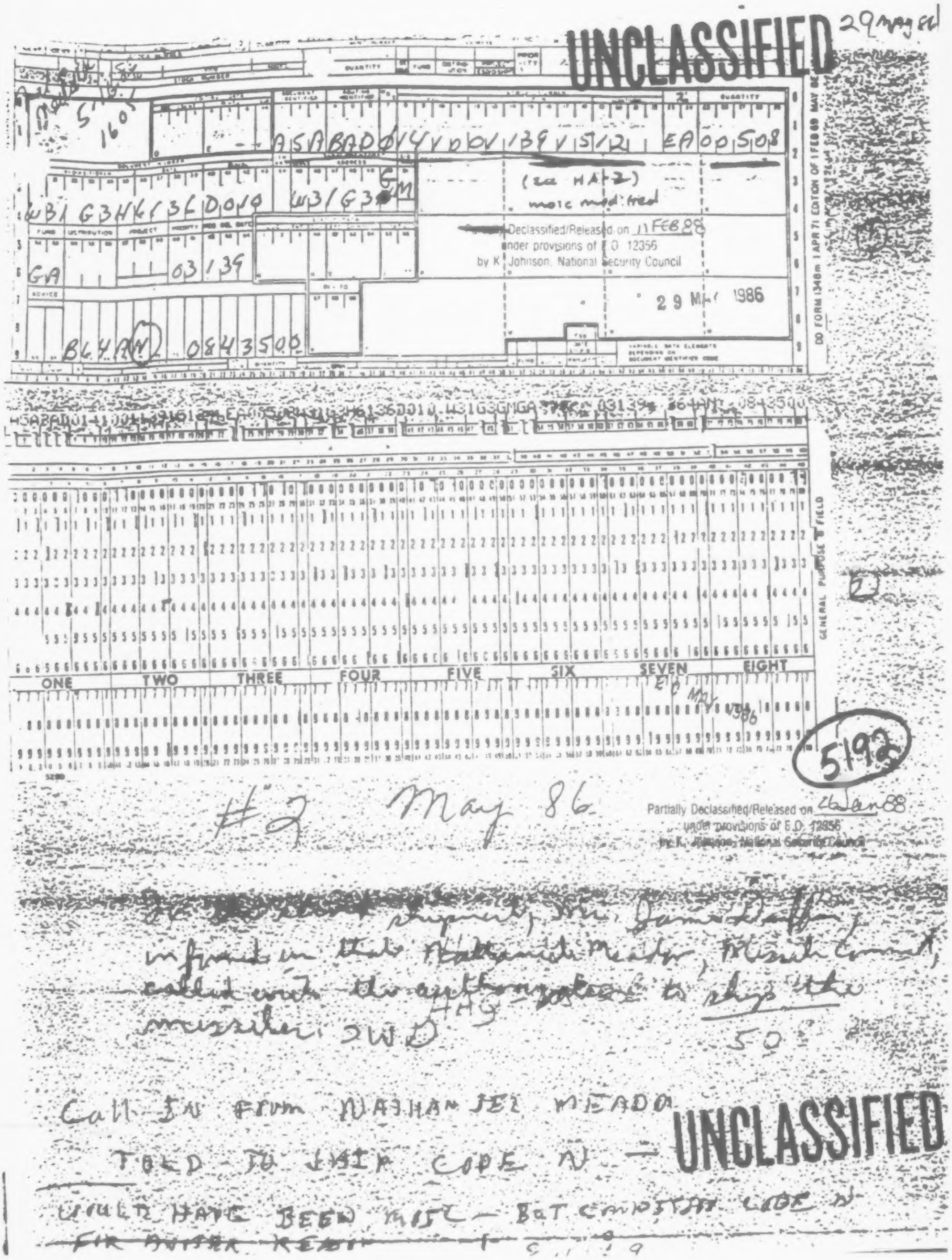
UNCLASSIFIED

3119

30 July 87 ... E.O. 12356

EXHIBIT P-17

UNCLASSIFIED 29 May 86



A5ABADØ14YDØV139V5/2 EA 00508

WB1G3HK13CD010 W3/G3GM

(see HA-2)
more modified

~~Partially~~ Declassified/Released on 11 FEB 88
under provisions of E.O. 12356
by K. Johnson, National Security Council

29 MAY 1986

GA 03139

B64AN 0843500

DD FORM 1348m 1 APR 71 EDITION OF 1 FEB 69 MAY BE USED

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H5ABAD014YD0V139V512 EA00508WB1G3H613CD010 W31G3GMGA 03139 B64AN 0843500
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ONE TWO THREE FOUR FIVE SIX SEVEN EIGHT

GENERAL PURPOSE FIELD

29 May 86

5192

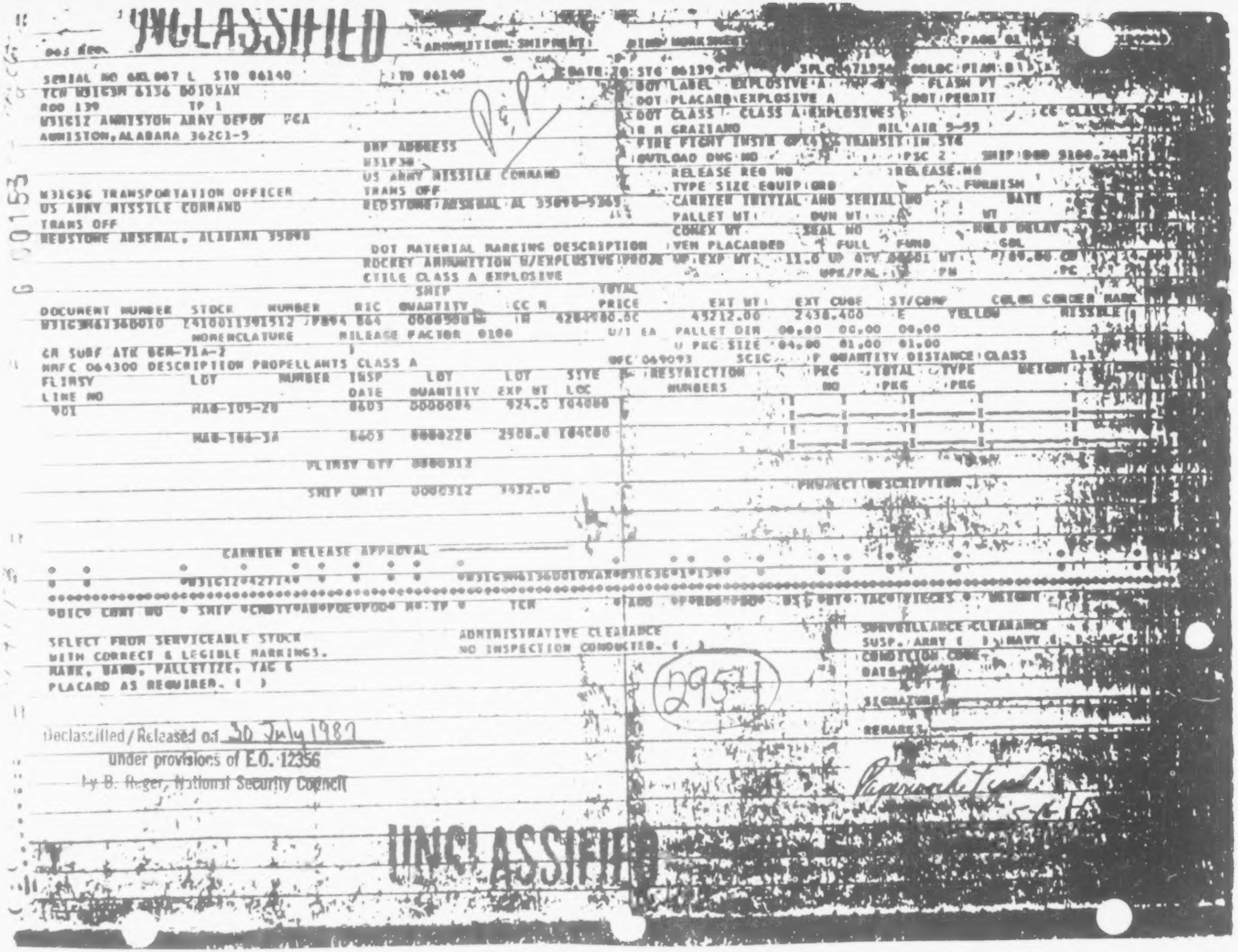
#2 May 86

Partially Declassified/Released on 26 Jan 88
under provisions of E.O. 12356
by K. Johnson, National Security Council

[redacted] shipment, Mr. James Duff informed me that Nathaniel Meador, Missile Command, called with the authorization to ship the missiles. JWD
HAG
50

Call in from Nathaniel Meador
Told to ship code N —
would have been misc — but can't stay code N
~~FIR ANTFAR KEAN~~
5119

UNCLASSIFIED



UNCLASSIFIED

DOS Form AMMUNITION SHIPMENT WORKSHEET PAGE 01

SERIAL NO 6KL007 L STD 06140
TCN W31G3M 6136 D010XAX
RDD 139 TP 1
W31G12 ANNISTON ARMY DEPOT PCA
ANNISTON, ALABAMA 36201-5

STD 06140

SHP ADDRESS
W31F3M
US ARMY MISSILE COMMAND
TRANS OFF
REDSTONE ARSENAL AL 35898-5365

W31G36 TRANSPORTATION OFFICER
US ARMY MISSILE COMMAND
TRANS OFF
REDSTONE ARSENAL, ALABAMA 35898

DATE 20: STG 06139 SPLC 671354 COLOC PIAM 81
DOT LABEL EXPLOSIVE A FLASH PT
DOT PLACARD EXPLOSIVE A DOT PERMIT
DOT CLASS CLASS A EXPLOSIVES CG CLASS
R M GRAZIANO MIL AIR 5-55
FIRE FIGHT INSTR GP (4) TRANSIT IN STG
OUTLOAD DWG NO PSC 2 SHIP DOD 5100.76M
RELEASE REQ NO RELEASE NO
TYPE SIZE EQUIP GRD FURNISH
CARRIER INITIAL AND SERIAL NO DATE
PALLET WT DUN WT WT
CONEX WT SEAL NO HOLD DELAY
VEH PLACARDED FULL FUND GBL
UP EXP WT 11.0 UP QTY WT P/89.00 CU
UPK/PAL PM PC

DOT MATERIAL MARKING DESCRIPTION
ROCKET AMMUNITION W/EXPLOSIVE PROJECTILE CLASS A EXPLOSIVE

DOCUMENT NUMBER	STOCK NUMBER	RIC	SHIP QUANTITY	CC H	TOTAL PRICE	EXT WT	EXT CUBE	ST/COMP	COLOR CORNER MARK
W31G3M61360010	1410011391512 PB94	864	0000300	1W	4284980.0C	45212.06	2438.400	E	YELLOW MISSILE

NOMENCLATURE MILEAGE FACTOR 0100 U/I EA PALLET DIM 00.00 00.00 00.00
GM SURF ATK BGM-71A-2 U PKG SIZE 04.00 01.00 01.00
NMFC 064300 DESCRIPTION PROPELLANTS CLASS A UFC 049093 SCIC P QUANTITY DISTANCE CLASS 1.1

FLIMSY LINE NO	LOT NUMBER	INSP DATE	LOT QUANTITY	LOT EXP WT	STGE LOC	RESTRICTION NUMBERS	PKG NO	TOTAL PKG	TYPE PKG	WEIGHT
001	MAB-105-28	8603	0000084	924.0	104088					
	MAB-106-3A	8603	0000228	2508.0	104C80					
	FLIMSY QTY		0000312							
	SHIP UNIT		0000312	3432.0						

PROJECT DESCRIPTION

CARRIER RELEASE APPROVAL

W31G12 427140 W31G3M61360010XAX W31G36 1 139

DIC CONT NO SHIP CMDTY AD POE POD NO TP TCN ADD OP RDD PDD DSS PRY TAC PIECES WEIGHT

SELECT FROM SERVICEABLE STOCK
WITH CORRECT & LEGIBLE MARKINGS.
MARK, BAND, PALLETIZE, TAG &
PLACARD AS REQUIRED. ( )

ADMINISTRATIVE CLEARANCE
NO INSPECTION CONDUCTED. ( )

SURVEILLANCE CLEARANCE
SUSP. ARMY ( ) NAVY ( )
CONDITION CODE
DATE
SIGNATURE
REMARKS

2954

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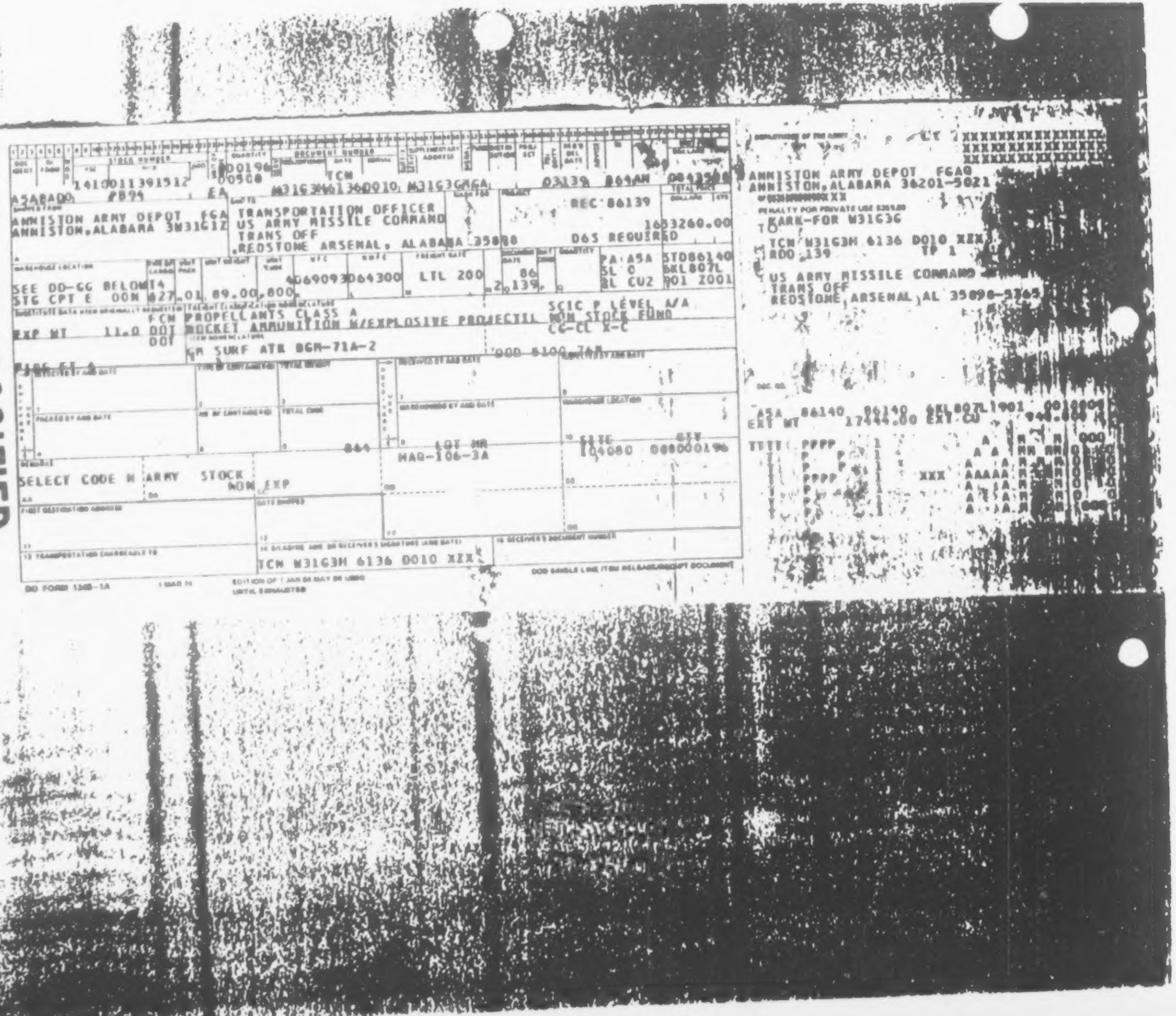
G 00153



1410011391512 EA 00196 00500

TCN M31G3M61360010 M31G3GMGA 03139 B64AM

A5ABADO #B94

ANNISTON ARMY DEPOT FGA
ANNISTON, ALABAMA 3W31G1Z

TRANSPORTATION OFFICER
US ARMY MISSILE COMMAND
TRANS OFF
REDSTONE ARSENAL, ALABAMA 35898

REC 86139

1633260.00

D6S REQUIRED

SEE DD-GG BELOW 14
STG CPT E OON 027 01 89.00 800

4069093064300 LTL 200 2 86 139

PA ASA
SL 0
BL CU2

STD86140
6KL807L
901 2001

FCN PROPELLANTS CLASS A
DOT ROCKET AMMUNITION W/EXPLOSIVE PROJECTIL
DOT

SCIC P LEVEL A/A
NON STOCK FUND
CG-CL X-C

EXP WT 11.0

GM SURF ATK BGM-71A-2

DOD 6100 76B

LOT NR
MAQ-106-3A

SITE QTY
104080 000000196

SELECT CODE N ARMY STOCK NON EXP

TCN W31G3M 6136 D010 XZX

DD FORM 1348-1A

DOD SINGLE LINE ITEM RELEASE/RECEIPT DOCUMENT

ANNISTON ARMY DEPOT FGAQ
ANNISTON, ALABAMA 36201-5021

PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE $300

MARK-FOR W31G36

TCN W31G3M 6136 D010 XZX
RDD 139 TP 1

US ARMY MISSILE COMMAND
TRANS OFF
REDSTONE ARSENAL, AL 35898-5365

ASA 86140 86140 6KL807L1901
EXT WT 17444.00 EXT CU

UNCLASSIFIED

5193

~~Partially~~ Declassified/Released on 26 Jan 88
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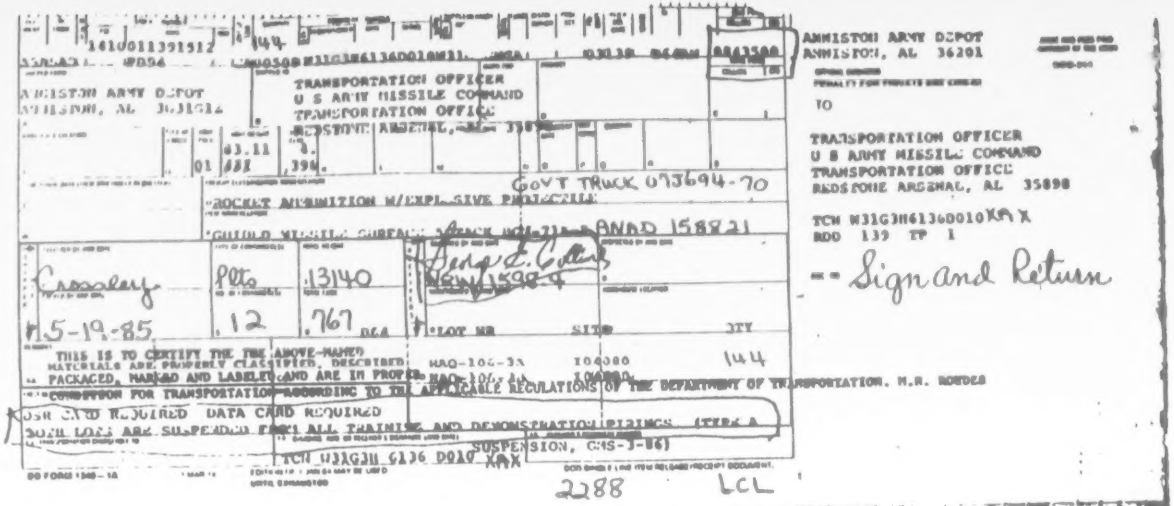
by K. Johnson, National Security Council

UNCLASSIFIED

[illegible] 00148



1410011391912 144

[illegible] 8094 [illegible] W31G3H6136D010 [illegible]

ANNISTON ARMY DEPOT
ANNISTON, AL 36[illegible]

TRANSPORTATION OFFICER
U S ARMY MISSILE COMMAND
TRANSPORTATION OFFICE
REDSTONE ARSENAL, [illegible]

03.11 | 01 | [illegible] | 394.

GOVT TRUCK 073694-70

ROCKET AMMUNITION W/EXPLOSIVE PROJECTILE

GUIDED MISSILE SURFACE [illegible] ANAD 158821

Crossley

5-19-85

Plts | 12

13140 | 767

Geo E. Co[illegible]

NEW 1598.4

LOT NR	SITE	QTY
HAO-106-3A	104080	144
HAO-106-3A	104080	

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THE THE ABOVE-NAMED MATERIALS ARE PROPERLY CLASSIFIED, DESCRIBED PACKAGED, MARKED AND LABELED AND ARE IN PROPER CONDITION FOR TRANSPORTATION ACCORDING TO THE APPLICABLE REGULATIONS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION. M.R. RHODES

DSR CARD REQUIRED DATA CARD REQUIRED
BOTH LOTS ARE SUSPENDED FROM ALL TRAINING AND DEMONSTRATION FIRINGS. (TYPE A SUSPENSION, CMS-3-86)

TCN W31G3H 6136 D010 XAX

DD FORM 1348-1A

2288

LCL

ANNISTON ARMY DEPOT
ANNISTON, AL 36201

TO

TRANSPORTATION OFFICER
U S ARMY MISSILE COMMAND
TRANSPORTATION OFFICE
REDSTONE ARSENAL, AL 35898

TCN W31G3H6136D010XAX
RDD 139 TP 1

-- Sign and Return

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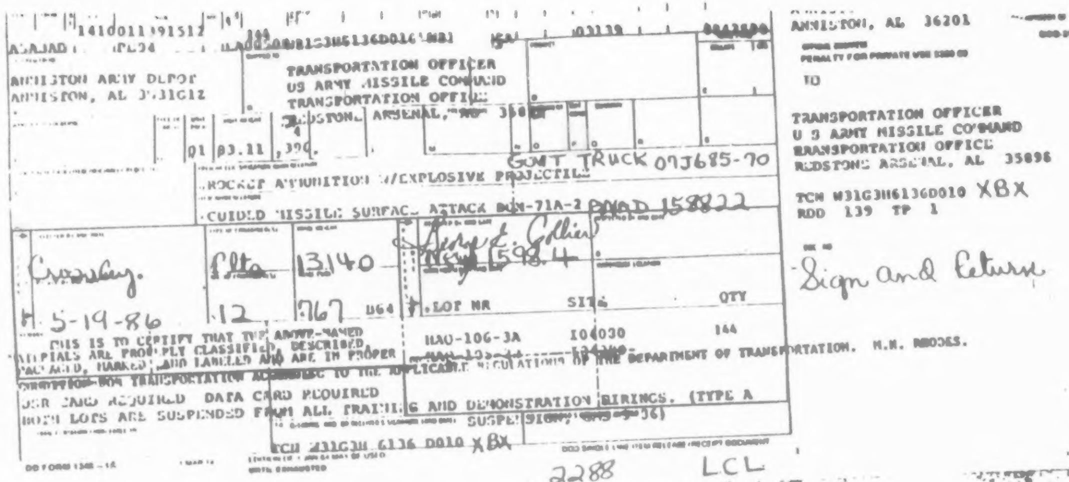
By B. Reger, National Security Council

2949

UNCLASSIFIED
G 00149



1410011191512

AJAJAD IPL34 W31G3H6136D010 NB1 03139

ANNISTON ARMY DEPOT
ANNISTON, AL [illegible]31G12

TRANSPORTATION OFFICER
US ARMY MISSILE COMMAND
TRANSPORTATION OFFICE
REDSTONE ARSENAL, AL 358[illegible]

01 03.11 390

GOVT TRUCK 07J685-70

ROCKET AMMUNITION W/EXPLOSIVE PROJECTILE

GUIDED MISSILE SURFACE ATTACK BGM-71A-2 DMAD 158822

Crossley.

Flta 13140 1598.4

5-19-86 12 767 D64

LOT NR	SITE	QTY
HAO-106-3A	104030	144
~~HAO-105-[illegible]~~	~~104[illegible]~~	

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT THE ABOVE-NAMED MATERIALS ARE PROPERLY CLASSIFIED, DESCRIBED, PACKAGED, MARKED, AND LABELLED AND ARE IN PROPER CONDITION FOR TRANSPORTATION ACCORDING TO THE APPLICABLE REGULATIONS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION. M.H. RHODES.

[illegible] CARD REQUIRED DATA CARD REQUIRED

BOTH LOTS ARE SUSPENDED FROM ALL TRAINING AND DEMONSTRATION FIRINGS. (TYPE A SUSPENSION, [illegible]-36)

TCN W31G3H 6136 D010 XBX

DD FORM 1348-1A

2288 LCL

ANNISTON, AL 36201

OFFICIAL BUSINESS
PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE $300

TO

TRANSPORTATION OFFICER
U S ARMY MISSILE COMMAND
TRANSPORTATION OFFICE
REDSTONE ARSENAL, AL 35898

TCN W31G3H6136D010 XBX
RDD 139 TP 1

Sign and Return

2950

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by B. Reger, National Security Council

1410011391512 136 03139 M64AN
ISTON ARMY DEPOT
ISTON, AL W31G18

TRANSPORTATION OFFICER
U S ARMY MISSILE COMMAND
TRANSPORTATION OFFICE
REDSTONE ARSENAL, 35898

01 03.11,396

GOVT TRUCK 769883

AMMUNITION W/EXPLOSIVE PROJECTILE

GUIDED MISSILE SURFACE ATTACK BGM-71A-2 NAVAD 158823

1509.6

5-19-86 .12 .731

LOT NR SITE QTY

HAO-106-3A 104000 136

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT THE ABOVE-NAMED MATERIALS ARE PROPERLY CLASSIFIED, DESCRIBED, PACKAGED, MARKED AND LABELED AND ARE IN PROPER CONDITION FOR TRANSPORTATION ACCORDING TO THE APPLICABLE REGULATIONS FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION. N.E. [illegible]

CARD REQUIRED DATA CARD REQUIRED

SUSPENSION, CMS-8-86)

TCN W31G3H 6136 D010

ANNISTON ARMY DEPOT
ANNISTON, AL 36201

TO

TRANSPORTATION OFFICER
U S ARMY MISSILE COMMAND
TRANSPORTATION OFFICE
REDSTONE ARSENAL, AL 35898

TCN W31G3H6136D010 XCX
RDD 139 TP 1

-Sign and Return

2951

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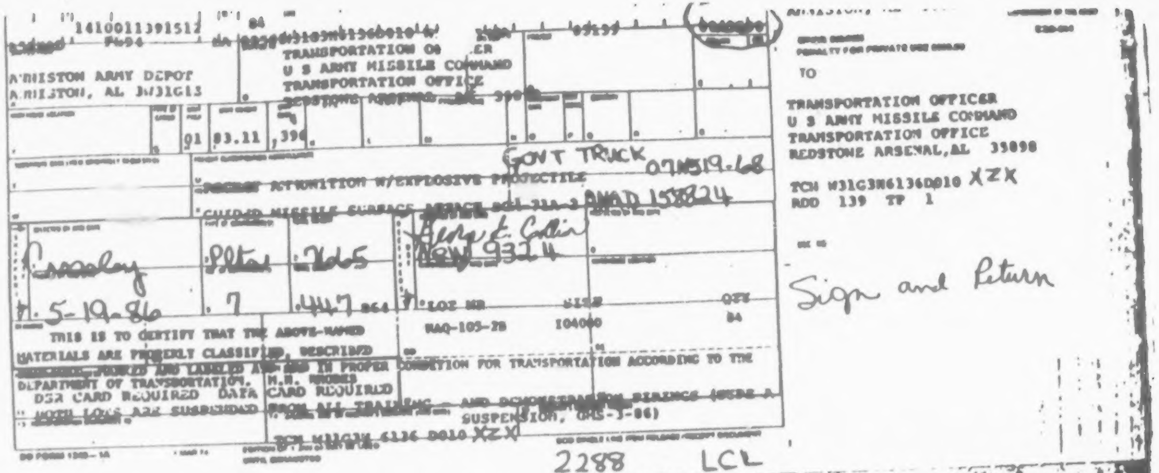
6 00151



1410011391512

F694

ANNISTON ARMY DEPOT
ANNISTON, AL W31G13

TRANSPORTATION OFFICER
U S ARMY MISSILE COMMAND
TRANSPORTATION OFFICE
REDSTONE ARSENAL, AL 3589

01 | 03.11 | ,39

GOVT TRUCK 07W519.68

AMMUNITION W/EXPLOSIVE PROJECTILE

GUIDED MISSILE SURFACE ATTACK

ANAD 158824

Crossley 5-19-86

7

447

New 9314

LOT NR	SIZE	QTY
NAQ-105-28	104000	04

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT THE ABOVE-NAMED MATERIALS ARE PROPERLY CLASSIFIED, DESCRIBED, PACKAGED, MARKED AND LABELED AND ARE IN PROPER CONDITION FOR TRANSPORTATION ACCORDING TO THE DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION.

DSA CARD REQUIRED DATA CARD REQUIRED

BOTH LOTS ARE SUSPENDED FROM ALL TRAINING AND DEMONSTRATION FIRINGS

SUSPENSION, (MS-3-86)

TCN W31G3N6136D010 XZX

DD FORM 1348-1A

2288 LCL

TO

TRANSPORTATION OFFICER
U S ARMY MISSILE COMMAND
TRANSPORTATION OFFICE
REDSTONE ARSENAL, AL 35898

TCN W31G3N6136D010 XZX
RDD 139 TP 1

Sign and Return

[illegible] 30 July 1987
under provisions [illegible] E.O. 12356
by B. [illegible], National Security Council

2952

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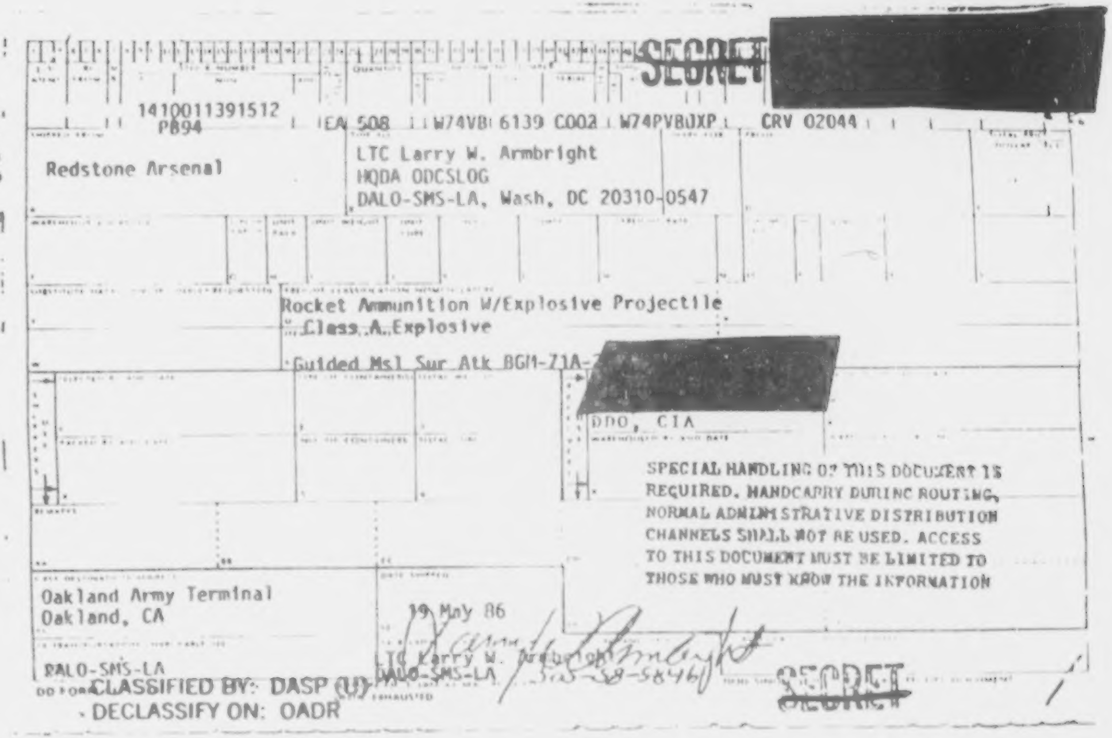

SECRET [redacted]

1410011391512 P894 EA 508 W74VB 6139 C002 W74PVBDXP CRV 02044

Redstone Arsenal

LTC Larry W. Armbright
HQDA ODCSLOG
DALO-SMS-LA, Wash, DC 20310-0547

Rocket Ammunition W/Explosive Projectile
Class A Explosive

Guided Msl Sur Atk BGM-71A-[redacted]

DDO, CIA

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Oakland Army Terminal
Oakland, CA

19 May 86

Larry W. Armbright

LTC Larry W. Armbright
DALO-SMS-LA / 515-58-5846

DALO-SMS-LA

CLASSIFIED BY: DASP (U)
DECLASSIFY ON: OADR

~~SECRET~~

G 00101

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2902

19 May 86
B-79

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REQUEST FOR SUPPLY ACTION

D 9257

THRU: DRSMI -
DRSMI -
TO: DRSMI -

FROM: DRSMI -
ITEM MANAGER'S ANAL-CD

DATE:
PHONE:

DOCUMENT IDENT	ROUTING IDENT	M&S	NATIONAL STOCK NUMBER	UNIT OF ISSUE	QUANTITY
[illegible] A E	L T	3	1410-01-[illegible]	E A	[illegible]
cc 1-3	cc 4-6	cc 7	cc 8-22	cc 23-24	cc 25-29

DOCUMENT NUMBER

REQUISITIONER	DATE	SERIAL	DEMAND CODE	SUPPLEMENTARY ADDRESS (Ship To)	SIG CODE	FUND CODE	DIST CODE	PROJECT CODE	PRIORITY CODE
W 3 1 G 3 H	6303	DAA1		W31G36	M	=A			[illegible]
cc 30-35	cc 36-39	cc 40-43	cc 44	cc 45-50	cc 51	cc 52-53	cc 54-56	cc 57-59	cc 60-61

REQ. DEL. DATE	ADVICE CODE	DEPOT RIC FROM	PURP. CODE	COND. CODE
307		BAI	A	N
cc 62-64	cc 65-66	cc 67-69	cc 70	cc 71

	PURP. CD TO	EDIT ACTION		ANAL. CODE (DRSMI-SD)
			PP	
cc 72	cc 73	cc 74-75	cc 76-77	cc 78-80

IN-THE-CLEAR ADDRESS (Ship To)

Materiel To be Shipped To Arabia[illegible] AT Redstone Arsenal, AL NLT 1400 [illegible] FL307. BC at Redstone is [illegible] Collier AV: 746-5701/4185 or [illegible] Coward AV: 746-4085/7809. [illegible] same as their [illegible]

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Special Project -

UNIT PRICE $2764

EXCEPTION DATA
☐ APPROVED
☐ DISAPPROVED

JUSTIFICATION FOR TELEPHONE (PD 01-03) NPD (CHECK APPROPRIATE BLOCK)

☐ NECESSARY TO MEET SCHEDULED DEPARTURE DATE OF A VESSEL OR OTHER CARRIER.
☐ NECESSARY TO MEET SCHEDULED DEPLOYMENT DATE FOR AN OPERATION FORCE.
☐ NECESSARY TO MEET FIRM COMMITMENT FOR DELIVERY OF MATERIEL TO A COUNTRY PARTICIPATING IN INTERNATIONAL LOGISTICS PROGRAMS WHERE IT IS NECESSARY TO MEET A COMMITMENT DT.
☐ EMERGENCY REQUIREMENTS FOR MEDICAL AND DISASTER SUPPLIES.
☐ REQUISITION CONTAINS PRIORITY 01-03 IN COLUMNS 60-61 AND CODE 999 IN CARD COLUMNS 62-64.

☑ APPROVED ☐ DISAPPROVED

☐ OFF-LINE

MATERIEL ON RECORDS
☐ DEPOT ☐ MIRCOM

DEPOT CONTACT:

PHONE-EXT.

NOTE: PRIORITIES 01 THRU 08 WILL BE ROUTED THRU DRSMI-SS TO DRSMI-SD.
PRIORITIES 09 THRU 15 WILL BE ROUTED DIRECTLY TO DRSMI-SDC.

ASSIGNED PRIORITY:
☑ APPROVED
☐ DISAPPROVED

DATE	SIGNATURE OF APPROVING AUTHORITY
[illegible]	[illegible]

DRSMI-G FORM 488, 1 AUG 77 PREVIOUS EDITION IS OBSOLETE

[illegible] 30 July 83
[illegible] E.O. 12958
[illegible] Security Council

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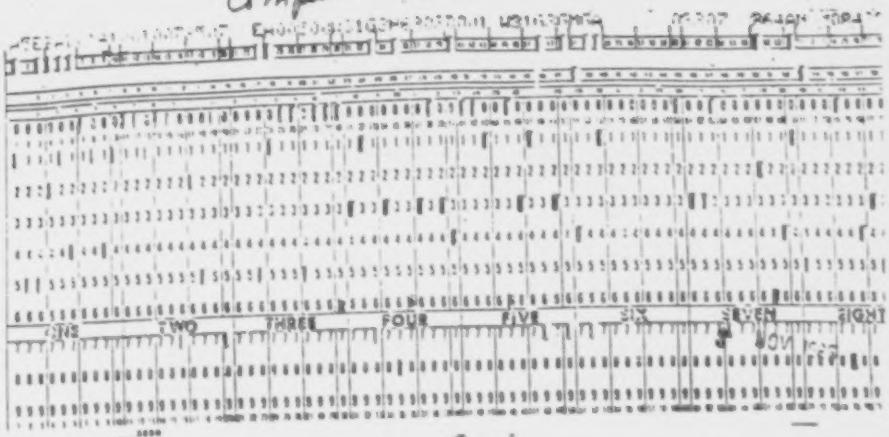
UNCLASSIFIED

#- 30NOV86

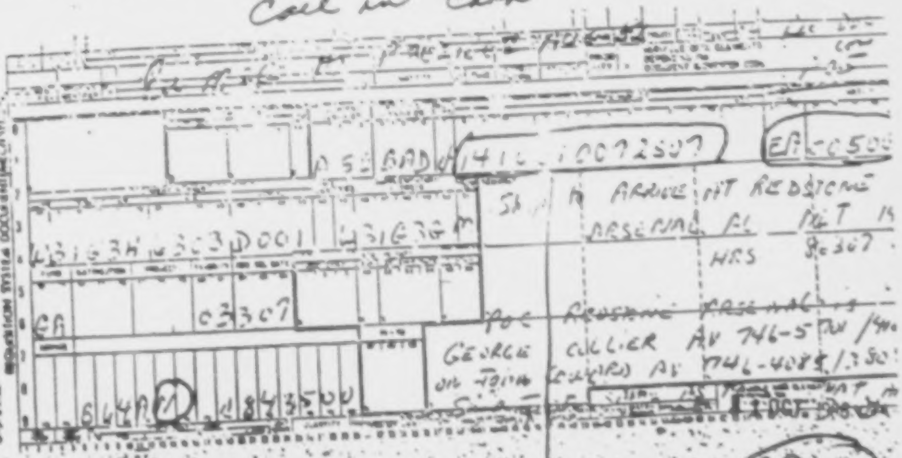
Computer Cd

②



Call in Card

①



A 5 BAD A 141 . 10072507

EA C 50

431G3H 3D001 431G3G M

SH ARRIVE AT REDSTONE ARSENAL AL

HRS

EA

03307

POC REDSTONE ARSENAL

GEORGE COLLIER AV 746-5

(EDWARD) AV 746-4085

644A ② 84350

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29666

(see HA-2)
extended range

NOTE: Downgraded from extended range
(see [illegible] p. 5)

④

UNCLASSIFIED

AMMUNITION SHIPMENT PLANNING WORKSHEET PAGE 01 [illegible]

[illegible] REQUIRED

[illegible]
[illegible] SP 1
[illegible] 20203-5

TO [illegible]

DATE TO [illegible]
DOT LABEL EXPLOSIVE A FLASH PT
DOT PLACARD EXPLOSIVE A DOT PERMIT
DOT CLASS CLASS A EXPLOSIVES CG CLASS [illegible]
F P [illegible] [illegible] 5-55
FIRE FIGHT SYMBOL GP 4 TRANSIT IN STG
OUTLOAD DWG NO [illegible] PSC 2 SHIP [illegible]
RELEASE REQ NO RELEASE NO
TYPE SIZE EQUIP ORD FURNISH
CARRIER INITIAL AND SERIAL NO DATE
PALLET WT DUN WT WT
COVER WT SEAL NO [illegible] DELAY

MRP ADDRESS
W[illegible]
US ARMY MISSILE COMMAND
TRANS OFF
REDSTONE ARSENAL AL 35898-5709

[illegible] TRANSPORTATION OFFICER
US ARMY MISSILE COMMAND
TRANS OFF
REDSTONE ARSENAL, ALABAMA 35898

DOT MATERIAL SHIPPING DESCRIPTION VEH PLACARDED FULL [illegible] SPL
ROCKET AMMUNITION W/EXPLOSIVE PROJE UP EXP WT 12.5 UP QTY [illegible] WT 07.00 CU 4.996
[illegible] CLASS A EXPLOSIVE UPP/PAL PH PC

CONSIGNEE NUMBER STOCK NUMBER RIC QUANTITY CC A SHIP TOTAL PRICE EXT WT EXT CUBE ST/COMP COLOR CORNER MARK
W[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] YELLOW MISSILE
NOMENCLATURE PILFERAGE FACTOR [illegible] U/I EA PALLET DIM [illegible]
U PKG SIZE [illegible]
[illegible] SCIC P QUANTITY DISTANCE CLASS 1.1
[illegible] PROPELLANTS CLASS A
LOT NUMBER EXP DATE LOT QUANTITY LOT EXP WT SITE LOC RESTRICTION NUMBERS PKG NO TOTAL PKG TYPE PKG WEIGHT CUBE
PAO-1142-[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
PAO-1144-1 [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

SHIP UNIT [illegible] [illegible]

PROJECT DESCRIPTION

[illegible] RELEASE APPROVAL

[illegible] PIECES WEIGHT CUBE

ADMINISTRATIVE CLEARANCE
NO INSPECTION [illegible]. ( )

SURVEILLANCE CLEARANCE
SUSP. ARMY ( ) NAVY ( ) AF [illegible]
CONDITION CODE-
DATE-
SIGNATURE
REMARKS

[illegible] SERVICEABLE STOCK
WITH CORRECT & LEGIBLE MARKINGS.
[illegible] TAG &
[illegible] AS REQUIRED. ( )

2976

P+P 10-31-86

31 Oct 86

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Regraded Uncl 10-31-86

Exhibit 11

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3NOV86

ASEBADD1410D10072507	FA66 117 EA00500W31G3M6303D001 W31G3GMG	03307 864AM	0843500
ANNISTON ARMY DEPOT ANNISTON, AL 3W31G1Z	USA MISSILE COMMAND INSTALLATION SUPPLY ACT ACCT REDSTONE ARSENAL, AL 35898-5000		
	01 87.00396 7.		
	ROCKET AMMUNITION W/EXPLOSIVE PROJECTILE	CLASS A	
	GM SURFACE ATTACK BGM-71A1	CONT TRUCK 078518 AAAD 8157105	
CROSSLEY	PALLETS	10738	NEW 1456.7
11-3-86	10	626 864	LOT NR SIZE Q TY
			RAQ-1142-3 105210 117 DGAG
	TCN W31G3M 6303 D001 XXX		

2022 LCL

ANNISTON ARMY DEPOT
ANNISTON, AL 36201

TO:

USA MISSILE COMMAND
INSTALLATION SUPPLY ACT ACCT
REDSTONE ARSENAL, AL 35898-5000

TCN W31G3M6303D001 XXX
TP 1 RDD 307

DUNNAGE 450 #

PALLET WT. 1000 #

9 PALLETS @ 12 cntrs
1 PALLET @ 9 cntrs.

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by [illegible] National Security Council

2970

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PAGE 144

ACOMD 91410010072507, FA00500W31G3H63030001,W31G3GMCA 03307, 164AN 0043500

ANNISTON ARMY DEPOT
ANNISTON, AL 3W31G11

USA MISSILE COMMAND
INSTALLATION SUPPLY ACT ACCT
REDSTONE ARSENAL, AL 35888-5000

0187.00 396

POCKET AMMUNITION W/EXPLOSIVE PROJECTILE CLASS A

GI SURFACE ATTACK BGM-71A1

GOVT TRUCK 07360D
ANAD 0137101

CROSSLEY

11-3-86

PLTS 12

13140

767
[illegible] 864

LOT NR SITE QTY

MAO-1144-1 105.10 00303 144

TCN W31G3H 6303 0001 XAX

2022 LCL

ANNISTON ARMY DEPOT
ANNISTON, AL 36201

TO:

USA MISSILE COMMAND
INSTALLATION SUPPLY ACT ACCT
REDSTONE ARSENAL, AL 35888-5000

TCN W31G3H63030001 XAX
TP 1 RDD. 307
DUNNAGE 490
PALLET WT. 1200

Sign and Return

12 PALLETS @ 12 cntrs

3 NOV 86

[illegible] on 30 July 1987
under provisions of E.O. 12356
[illegible] Security Council

2971

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 144

CBA0001410010072507, EA00500W31G3M63030001,W31G3GNGA, 23307, 864AN 0843500

ANNISTON ARMY DEPOT
ANNISTON, AL W31G1E

USA MISSILE COMMAND
INSTALLATION SUPPLY ACT ACCT
REDSTONE ARSENAL, AL 35898-5000

01 87.00396

ROCKET AMMUNITION W/EXPLOSIVE PROJECTILE CLASS A
GM SURFACE ATTACK BGM-71A1

GOVT TRUCK JC9883
APAD 0137103

CROSSLEY
11-3-86

PLTS 12

13168

767 864

Margaret E. Collins

LOT NR	SITE	QTY
9AQ-1166-1	135110	144

TCN W31G3M 6303 D001 XXX

2022 LCL

ANNISTON ARMY DEPOT
ANNISTON, AL 36201

UNCLASSIFIED

TO

USA MISSILE COMMAND
INSTALLATION SUPPLY ACT ACCT
REDSTONE ARSENAL, AL 35898-5000

TCN W31G3M63030001 XXX
TP 1 RDD 307
CUBAGE 450
PALLET WT 1200

Sign and Return

12 pallets @ 12 cntrs

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by [illegible] National Security Council

2972

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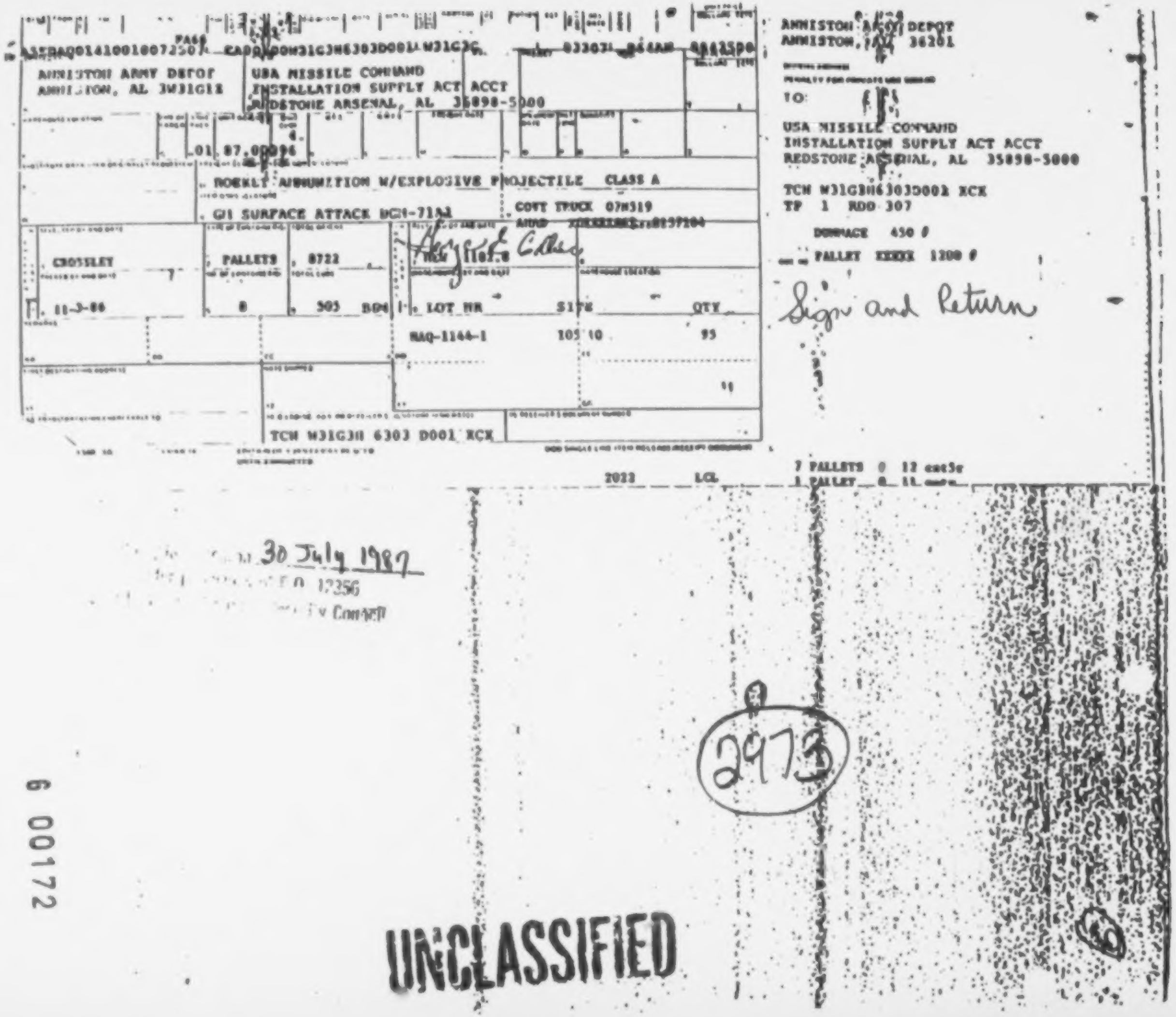

A5TDAQ01410010072507 PAGE CAD00DOW31G3H6303D001 W31G3G 033031 044AM 0843500

ANNISTON ARMY DEPOT
ANNISTON, AL 3W31G1Z

USA MISSILE COMMAND
INSTALLATION SUPPLY ACT ACCT
REDSTONE ARSENAL, AL 35898-5000

01 87.00096 4

ROCKET AMMUNITION W/EXPLOSIVE PROJECTILE CLASS A

GM SURFACE ATTACK BGM-71A1

GOVT TRUCK 07M319

AMMO [illegible]

Hayood E. Cales

NMFC 1102.0

CROSSLEY 7

PALLETS 0722

11-3-86 8 505 BGM

LOT NR SIZE QTY

MAQ-1144-1 105 10 95

TCN W31G3H 6303 D001 XCX

ANNISTON ARMY DEPOT
ANNISTON, AL 36201

TO:

USA MISSILE COMMAND
INSTALLATION SUPPLY ACT ACCT
REDSTONE ARSENAL, AL 35898-5000

TCN W31G3H6303D001 XCX
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DUNNAGE 450 #

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Sign and Return

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7 PALLETS @ 12 cnt3e
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30 July 1987

E.O. 12356

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ANNISTON, AL 3W31G1E

USA MISSILE COMMAND
INSTALLATION SUPPLY ACT ACCT
REDSTONE ARSENAL, AL 35898-5000

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ROCKET AMMUNITION W/EXPLOSIVE PROJECTILE CLASS A

GOVT TRUCK 07H510

GM SURFACE ATTACK BGM-71A1

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USA MISSILE COMMAND
INSTALLATION SUPPLY ACT ACCT
REDSTONE ARSENAL, AL 35898-5000

TCN W31G3M6303D001 XIX
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Redstone Arsenal

LTC Larry W. ~~XXXXXXXX~~Armbright
HQDA ODCSLOG
DALO-SMJ-LA, Wash DC 20310-0547

Rocket Ammunition W/Explosive Projectile
Class A Explosive
Guided Msl Sur Atk BGM-71A-1

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DALO-SMJ-LA

Larry W. Armbright
LTC Larry W. Armbright
DALO-SMJ-LA 505-58-5846 (SSN)

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Exhibit 19

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HSITS 0077 /87

DEPOSITION OF GARY COLE

Tuesday, June 9, 1987

U.S. House of Representatives,
Select Committee to Investigate Covert
Arms Transactions with Iran,
Washington, D.C.

Committee Hearings

of the

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

4012

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DEPOSITION OF GARY COLE

Tuesday, June 9, 1987

U.S. House of Representatives,
Select Committee to Investigate Covert
Arms Transactions with Iran,
Washington, D.C.

The Committee met, pursuant to call, at 1:25 p.m., in Room B-352, Rayburn House Office Building, with Patrick Carome presiding.

On behalf of the House Select Committee: Patrick Carome.

On behalf of the Witness: Phyllis Provost McNeil, Attorney, Office of General Counsel, Central Intelligence Agency, and Rhonda M. Hughes, Legislative Counsel, Central Intelligence Agency.

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Whereupon,

GARY COLE

having been first duly sworn, was called as a witness herein, and was examined and testified as follows:

MR. CAROME: Mr. Cole, for the record, my name is Patrick Carome. I am staff counsel for the House Select Committee to Investigate Covert Arms Transactions with Iran. Our committee was established pursuant to a resolution and rules. The CIA has previously been provided with copies of those rules. I have also today given you a set of those rules and the resolution. The mandate of our committee is to investigate the circumstances surrounding primarily the Iran affair but also the United States Government's involvement with the contras and this deposition is being conducted pursuant to those rules.

EXAMINATION ON BEHALF OF THE HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE

BY MR. CAROME:

Q Could you begin by stating briefly your educational background and the positions which you have held since graduating from law school?

A Certainly. I graduated from Williams College in Williamstown, Massachusetts in 1981. After working for a year with a solicitor's firm in London, I attended Stanford Law School, Stanford University in Palo Alto, California. I graduated from there in 1985 and after taking the bar exam

I joined the Office of General Counsel at the Central Intelligence Agency where I have been an attorney-advisor since October of 1985.

Q What is the position that you have held since you began work --

A Attorney-advisor is the term.

Q And what department or division of the Office of General Counsel have you been working in?

A I have been working since I came on board in the Intelligence Law Division.

Q And how many lawyers are in that Division?

A At present, we have, let's see, five attorneys in the Division. A total of five.

Q And to whom do you report?

A I report to David Roseman, who is the Division Chief.

Q Is that the person you have been reporting to since coming into the CIA?

A Essentially. We had a reorganization about approximately a year ago. When I came on board Bernard Makowka was the Division Chief, David Roseman was the Deputy Chief. I have effectively been reporting to David, though, throughout my tenure at the Agency.

Q And that would apply to the period December 1985 and January 1986; is that right?

A That's correct.

Q Have you been involved in the preparation of covert action findings at the Agency in your position?

A Yes, I have.

[redacted]

[redacted]

Q What month did you begin working at the CIA? I'm not sure we covered that.

A I began in October of 1985, early October.

Q Did there come a time when you became involved in the preparation of a finding pertaining to Iran?

A Yes.

Q And if you could be as precise as possible, when was the first time you heard anything about a finding pertaining to Iran?

A January 2nd, 1986.

Q You have a firm recollection that that's the first time that that subject ever came up with respect to yourself?

A Yes, I do.

Q What happened on January 2nd, 1986, to make you aware of this finding matter?

A I was called into Mr. Roseman's office, who advised me that the General Counsel wanted us to work on preparation of the finding.

Q Who was present in Mr. Roseman's office at this time?

A Just the two of us.

Q And where is his office in location to yours? Are they nearby to one another?

A Oh, within -- at the time, within 30 or 40 feet. I was about three offices away.

Q And this is at [redacted]; is that correct?

A That's correct.

Q And what did Mr. Roseman say to you, as best you can recall?

A He mentioned that the General Counsel had been pleased with our work [redacted], and had wanted us to help in this particular area. He gave me a general description of the scope of the finding and asked me to take a first crack at drafting it.

Q What was the general description of the scope of the finding that he gave you, if you can recall?

A Well, he mentioned that assistance was to be provided to Iran. I do not have a firm recollection as to at that point what sort of assistance was described. But that was the general description that he gave me. He did not have a lot of detail at that meeting.

Q Did he tell you anything else about the finding and what was to be done?

A My recollection is no, that there wasn't a lot of additional information provided at that first meeting.

Q And that's on a Thursday; is that right?

A That's correct.

Q Do you recall about what time during the day that you met with Mr. Roseman?

A I would guess it was probably, oh, perhaps mid to late afternoon, perhaps around 4 o'clock.

Q And how was the work to be done as Mr. Roseman laid it out? Did he explain what needed to be done?

A He did in some generality. We, as I mentioned, had worked on [redacted], and in that context had had access to other findings. And he suggested that I have recourse to those for use in determining the format of this draft. He asked me to stay late that evening and prepare a first draft, which I did.

Q Did Mr. Roseman mention anything to you about the fact that there had already been some involvement of the CIA in similar subjects, and, for instance, that there had already been arms transactions with Iran? Did he at this January 2nd meeting mention that to you?

A No, he did not.

Q Was there any discussion at all of any activity along these lines having already transpired in that discussion with Mr. Roseman?

A No, none.

Q Was there any discussion of the fact that there had already been a finding drafted or signed at that point?

A No. No, there was not.

Q You have since learned that there was a November finding drafted and perhaps signed; is that right?

A That's right.

Q When did you learn that fact?

A I don't believe I became aware of the possibility of such a finding until the story actually went public, which would have been in November, late November or early December of 1986.

Q You believe that you didn't hear anything about a 1985 finding --

A No.

Q -- on the Iran matter until the story broke in the press; is that right?

A That's correct. That's correct.

Q And does the same go for learning any information about a weapons shipment or shipments to Iran in 1985? Did you learn anything about that before the story broke?

A Well, I mean, as I mentioned, there were various sorts of assistance that Mr. Roseman described to me at that January 2nd meeting. It was my understanding that that assistance might take the form of military, you know, of transfers of military materiel. So at that point on January 2nd I was aware that the possibility existed that their shipments might have been made. I didn't learn that shipments had actually been made, though, until the story -- once again, until the story broke in November of '86.

Q Mr. Roseman must have explained in a bit more detail what it was that this finding was to provide for if you were going to be drafting one that night.

A Uh-huh.

Q Can you think of anything else that he told you about the anticipated activity?

A My recollection was that he described a range of assistance that would have included intelligence support, I believe; communications, military materiel, as I mentioned; perhaps logistical support in some other form. That is really about the extent of my recollection of what he described at that first meeting.

Q And at that first meeting, did he explain who it was this support was to be provided to?

A Yes.

Q And who was that?

A To Iran. And I really cannot recollect whether he gave me any more detail at that meeting as to who precisely within Iran was to be the recipient of these systems.

Q Did Mr. Roseman in that first meeting mention anything about Israel in connection with the activities?

A My recollection is that he did not in that first meeting.

Q Did he make any reference to the fact that other countries would perhaps play a role in the anticipated activities?

A I believe that he did, yes. I believe there was a reference to a third country.

Q Did the subject of whether or not the finding which was contemplated -- strike that question.

Mr. Roseman was clear at that point that what needed to be done was draft a finding; is that right?

A I believe that he understood that those were the instructions from the then General Counsel, yes.

Q And the then General Counsel was Stanley Sporkin; is that right?

A That's correct.

Q And was it your understanding that Mr. Roseman had received these instructions directly from Mr. Sporkin?

A Yes.

Q That the two of them had talked together about this matter; is that right?

A That's right.

Q Were you aware at that time or did Mr. Roseman, in that first meeting, identify any other persons who would be involved in the activity?

A In the activity of drafting the finding or --

Q Let's start there -- in the activity of drafting the finding.

A Did he mention whether other persons would be involved?

Q That's right. That's my question.

A I believe he made reference to the fact that one other component in our office may become involved and had been involved generally in the preparation of covert action findings.

Q And what component was that?

A The Intelligence Community Affairs Division.

Q Is that the Division in which at that time Mr. Clarke, George Clarke, and Mr. George Jameson were involved?

A They were the Chief and Deputy Chief respectively at that point, that's right.

Q And what do you recall Mr. Roseman saying about their role?

A Well, to the best of my recollection, he said that as a general matter covert action findings were not prepared in the Intelligence Law Division. As a rule, covert action was handled out of the Intelligence Community Affairs Division.

He indicated that because the General Counsel had expressed his satisfaction with the work we had done [redacted] [redacted] that we were given the first crack at drafting this finding. I believe he mentioned, though, that there was a possibility that that Division may become involved because it was their area of expertise within the office.

Q Are [redacted] and this Iran finding we are talking about the only two findings that you have ever worked on?

A Yes.

Q And are they the only two findings that the Division in which you were working had ever worked on, at least as far as you know?

A No, that's not accurate.

Q Are there other findings since --

A Since that time?

Q Yes.

A I'm really not certain.

Q Are you aware of others prior to that time?

A Well, I am --

Q In which your Division had worked on?

A That's correct. I have subsequently learned that my then Division Chief, Bernard Makowka, had been involved in the preparation of the earlier finding that you referred to.

Q I see. But other than that finding and the

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[redacted] are you aware of any other findings in which your Division has been involved?

A No.

Q Either before or after; is that right?

A Not to the best of my knowledge.

Q Did Mr. Roseman offer any explanation other than the fact that your work had been appreciated on the other matter as a reason for involving you and he on this Iran finding?

A No. No, he did not.

Q Did Mr. Roseman say anything about whether this was a particularly sensitive matter at that first meeting?

A I don't think he had to say it. I mean, I think it was understood that it was extremely sensitive.

Q And what was it that made it seem immediately to be a sensitive matter?

A Well, because the fact that military shipments were perhaps being contemplated to Iran.

Q And why would that be sensitive?

A It was, I guess, our feeling at the time was that because we had never -- we had not come across such a proposal in the past that we assumed it would, you know, would be an extremely sensitive matter. He did not make any statements to that effect but I think we both treated it in that manner.

Q About how long did this first meeting with Mr.

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Roseman last; do you recall?

A I don't recall exactly. I would estimate perhaps 45 minutes.

Q Did Mr. Roseman have any documents that he was referring to, any notes that he had taken from this conversation with Mr. Sporkin or other things that he was reviewing during this meeting?

A I really do not recall.

Q And what specifically did Mr. Roseman tell you to do after the meeting was over?

A He asked me to prepare a first draft of the finding.

Q And did you do that?

A Yes, I did.

Q And when did you prepare the first draft?

A That -- beginning that afternoon and into that evening.

Q Did Mr. Roseman say anything during the first meeting about the subject of notification of Congress?

A I believe that he did, yes.

Q And do you recall what he said on that subject?

A I think he asked me to take a look at the language that had been used in previous findings concerned reporting obligations to Congress and to consider that lanaguage when I was preparing my draft.

Q What do you mean consider it? What does that mean?

A To, I guess, to determine whether it might be appropriate to use similar language in this finding. As I subsequently found, the language was quite similar for, you know, for virtually all findings. And I think it was one of the factors he said that, of course, had to be included in, you know, in preparing a draft finding.

Q Did the concept of not notifying Congress come up?

A I don't believe it came up at that first meeting, no.

Q Were you aware that that was an option that at least might be considered at that time?

A I was aware of it because my recollection is that in another finding or draft finding -- and I'm afraid I cannot recall which finding it was -- that I had access to in preparing the earlier finding -- there had been language to the effect that Congress was not to be notified, that the President directed Congress not to be notified. I don't recall, though, that it was actually explicitly addressed in my first meeting with Mr. Roseman on January 2nd.

Q Okay.

MR. CAROME: Would you mark this as Exhibit 1, please?

(Exhibit No. GC-1 was marked for identification.)

BY MR. CAROME:

Q Mr. Cole, I show you what has been marked as Exhibit 1 to this deposition and ask you if you have ever seen this document?

I'll state for the record that it's what appears to be a copy of what's become known as the November 1985 mini finding and a cover document.

Did you see this document at any time prior to November of 1986?

A If I can just take a quick moment to read it over.

Q Sure.

(Pause)

THE WITNESS: If you could just repeat the question.

BY MR. CAROME:

Q Did you see either part, either page, of what's been marked as Exhibit 1 prior to November 1986?

A To the best of my recollection, I did not.

Q Is it possible that the finding,which is part of this exhibit, was one of the items that you looked at when you were going through all those findings?

A It is possible, but to the best of my recollection, no, it was not, it was not among them.

Q After the meeting with Mr. Roseman, I take it you then immediately began work to prepare a draft finding; is that right?

A That's correct.

Q And the first thing you did was look at findings that have been drafted before; is that right?

A That's correct.

Q Where did you find the previously drafted findings?

A Well, certain of the findings were kept in a secure safe in the office. And in fact, I believe I still had one or two of them which I had kept in secure storage in our registry because I had worked with them [redacted] [redacted] that I referred to earlier. As I mentioned, I don't have an exact recollection of when we had finished work on [redacted] but it had been within a week or two and I believe I still had many of the materials that I had used [redacted] So, I do not recall whether I -- it is possible that I went over and inquired for additional findings from the Intelligence Community Affairs people who had access to them. But I believe that certainly the majority of what I worked with I already had in my files at that time.

Q And what did you do after reviewing all the findings?

A The previous findings gave me a sense as I had also acquired [redacted] the language, the format, the tone, et cetera, that was used in preparing the finding. I used the language that was certainly the language that you see at the top of your exhibit, which refers to the act which authorizes the issuance of findings and included that language.

I then take -- taking the directions that Mr. Roseman had given me concerning the types of assistance to be offered to the Iranians, used language along the lines of what had appeared in previous findings in describing that in my draft.

Q And did you complete a draft that evening?

A Yes, I did.

MR. CAROME: Could you please mark that as the next exhibit?

(Exhibit No. GC-2 was marked for identification.)

BY MR. CAROME:

Q Mr. Cole, I show you what has been marked as Exhibit 2 and ask you to take a look at that and tell me whether or not that is the draft that you completed that night?

A If I can just have a moment to look it over.

Q Please look it over.

A Thank you.

(Pause)

THE WITNESS: To the best of my knowledge, yes, this is the finding I prepared that night.

BY MR. CAROME:

Q And did you actually have it typed out that night, and would it have been in this form before you went home that day?

A I really don't recall. I think in all likelihood I would have asked a secretary to stay late. The matter certainly seemed to me of sufficient importance to warrant that.

Q Had Mr. Roseman told you anything about whether this was an urgent matter?

A Yes.

Q And what did he say on that subject?

A Yes, it was to be completed, absolutely, as soon as possible.

Q And did you take that to mean get a draft done that night?

A You bet I did.

Q And I note that this Exhibit No. 2 includes an introductory paragraph that specifically contemplates a report to Congress --

A That's correct.

Q -- of the activity.

A That's correct.

Q And did you understand that was consistent with the instructions that Mr. Roseman had given you?

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A Yes. As I mentioned, we had not explicitly discussed congressional reporting, to the best of my recollection.

Q And you would have viewed it to have been somewhat extraordinary to have the opposite direction, namely, a non-report to Congress; is that correct?

A No, I wouldn't necessarily have taken that position. As I said, I didn't have an experience in preparing covert action findings to determine what was, you know, ordinary or extraordinary. So I really couldn't have made a conclusion one way or the other.

But he had indicated to me to work from the drafts of previous findings, the majority of which had included language that, you know, that Congress was to be notified in accordance with the National Security Act.

Q In the area under Description, there's a reference to working with selected foreign liaison services.

A Uh-huh.

Q Do you know what that was a reference to, or what that's in there?

A I did not know that at the time. No, I did not know what that was referring to at the time.

Q Had Mr. Roseman told you there needs to be a reference to liaison, foreign liaison?

A As I mentioned earlier, I believe he had made reference to the fact that there may be third countries

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involved. I don't recollect that he mentioned specifically what their involvement would be. I believe that this language was included in at least one of the previous findings. I think he mentioned that, as is indicated here, there would be intelligence support provided.

My recollection would be that -- you know -- in indicating that third countries would be involved that other foreign liaison services would be involved as well.

Q Did Mr. Roseman indicate in that first meeting the possibility that there might be private individuals involved at all in the activities related to the finding?

A Not to the best of my knowledge, no.

Q The last paragraph of the finding refers to the provision of arms equipment and related materiel --

A Uh-huh.

Q -- to Iran. Did Mr. Roseman describe to you what types of arms equipment and materiel were to be provided?

A No, he didn't.

Q There was no further description than that?

A Not at that point, no.

Q And there's a specific reference to the fact that these materiels are to be used against Iraq. Is that something that Mr. Roseman had touched upon in your discussion with him that morning or that afternoon?

A No. I mean, he had mentioned the fact that -- I mean, he had -- when you say "touched upon," yes, he had mentioned the fact that that's against whom the equipment would be directed, which I think was our -- was our understanding based on his conversation with the General Counsel, but he didn't really amplify, other than to say that that would be -- would be the country targeted by the equipment.

Q So -- withdraw that.

I take it you completed the draft of the finding and then went home for the day; is that right?

A That's right.

Q And what happened the following morning on this matter?

A I presented the draft to Mr. Roseman --

Q First thing in the morning?

A Yes. Yes. And, to the best of my recollection, he then took the finding directly up to the General Counsel and discussed it with him. That's what happened immediately.

Q Did you have a conversation with Mr. Roseman about the finding?

A I would assume that I must have done, but I don't recall exactly -- exactly what it was, other than to say that I had prepared a finding, in accordance with his instructions the previous day, and I assume I would have asked him, "Well, does this cover what it is that Stan -- Mr. Sporkin had described to you?" I think he said, "Well, I'd better go up and check with Stan."

Q Was there anyone else who saw this draft at this time?

A I don't believe so.

Q And do you understand that Mr. Roseman went right up to talk to Mr. Sporkin?

A That's right.

Q And what happened next?

A Based on his discussion with Mr. Sporkin, Mr. Roseman came back and said that a couple of other factors needed to be addressed in the finding.

Q About how long had Mr. Roseman been long; do you recall?

A I would guess he was probably up with Mr. Sporkin for -- oh, maybe 45 minutes, maybe an hour.

Q So about what time would it have been when he came back down? Still morning?

A I think it probably was still morning, but I'm not -- it would have been late in the morning, early afternoon at that point.

Q And what did Mr. Roseman say to you?

A Well, he had said that the instructions that had been given to him initially were rather general and having gone over it with Stan, he had more specific information which needed to be incorporated into the finding.

Q And what specifically was that new information?

A Well, my recollection is really somwhat foggy. It would be reflected in the original draft that we -- that we prepared there.

Q Let me see if I can show you what I, at least, understand to be the next draft.

A Yes.

Mr. CAROME: Could you please mark that as the next exhibit.

(Exhibit Number GC-3 was marked for identification.)

BY MR. CAROME:

Q I show you what's been marked as Exhibit Number 3 --

A Uh-huh.

Q And ask if you can tell whether that's the next draft of the finding.

THE WITNESS: Once again, if I could just have a moment to look at it.

MR. CAROME: Sure.

THE WITNESS: Thanks.

(Pause.)

THE WITNESS: Yes, to the best of my knowledge, this is the draft that we worked on on January 3rd.

BY MR. CAROME:

Q Now, when Mr. Roseman came back did he have a marked-up version of your first effort?

A I don't believe that he did.

Q Did he come back with any written materials or notes from his meeting with Mr. Sporkin?

A If he did, I didn't see them. I don't believe that he did, no.

Q Having looked at that document, can you now recall what it was that were the new points that Mr. Roseman said Mr. Sporkin wanted to be addressed in the finding?

A Well, I think -- I think there were several critical ones. The first pertained to the reporting of the finding to Congress.

Q And what did Mr. Roseman say on that point?

A I think he said that Mr. Sporkin wanted to pursue -- wanted to leave open both options to the Director of Central Intelligence, either informing the committees or not informing them initially.

Q Did he say why that was something that he wished left open?

A Well, he did -- I think he referred to, as the language indicates here, to the fact that this was an extremely sensitive operation. That would have been the reason for withholding notification.

Q Can you expand upon what it was that made this sensitive?

A No. No, not in any detail.

Q In any general way to the extent on it?

A Well, I think it's, you know, as I mentioned when you first asked me, I think it was understood in the office implicitly that the shipment of arms to Iran was considered to be extremely sensitive, that it was, you know, certainly not something that this office was involved in on a regular basis and as such, needed to be -- needed to be treated with considerable sensitivity.

I think, as a result, there wasn't a need perceived, either on Mr.Roseman's part or, I believe, on Mr. Sporkin's part, to underscore the sensitivity of the operation.

Q Was a part of what made people feel this was a very sensitive matter the fact that this was recognized as a -- something of a political hot potato, something that would cause a political firestorm if it were publicized this were going on?

A Your question is whether that was the judgment in the office when that was --

Q Whether that was a factor in the -- in perceiving this to be a highly sensitive matter?

A Yes, I think that's true.

Q Then at that time, the -- your understanding was that Mr. Sporkin wanted to leave open the option on the question of reporting to Congress; is that right?

A That's correct.

Q And who did you understand was going to be the person to make the judgement on whether or not the final draft would include language to report or not to report?

A Well, my understanding was that it would be the President who was the person signing the finding, but that it would also, obviously, be reviewed by our Director before, you know, before the President made a determination.

Q Of course, you were going to send over a proposed draft finding to the White House or at some point, that was going to happen, right?

A I was not aware of the chain of transportation to the White House. I assumed that, yes, it would find its way to the White House eventually.

Q And that the copy that would be first proposed to the White House would not contain alternative language, but will be drafted as a final document; is that right?

A That's correct.

Q Whose decision did you perceive it to be to decide whether the completed version sent over to the White House would contain language to report or not to report?

A As I indicated, I, as far as this agency, as far as our agency was concerned, that the decision would be made by the Director.

As to who would make the final decision on the White House staff, that I did not know and cannot speculate on.

Q What other changes or new aspects did Mr. Sporkin want included in the next draft?

A As the draft reflects, he wanted to make it clear that the elements within Iran who would receive this assistance were not those elements who were committing acts of terrorism against the United States. More specifically as it refers to here against U.S. persons, property or interests. To the best of my recollection, that was a very important point that he wanted underscored.

Q And what else did Mr. Sporkin want done to the draft?

A Those were the two points that stood out in my recollection, and on reviewing the finding, those are certainly the two most important issues, I think, that are focused on.

Q I notice in the next draft, the January 3rd draft, there is a reference in the second line under description to third countries. Was --

A I'm sorry, reference at what point?

Q The reference is in the second line --

A Uh-huh.

Q -- of the description and there's a reference to third countries.

A Right.

Q That is not something that appeared in the original version, as best I read it, and I'm wondering if Mr. Roseman said anything on that subject.

A There's a reference in the first finding to third countries in the context of a program of deception. I don't recollect that there was -- if you can just give me a moment to --

Q Surely.

A -- draw my recollection together on this.

Q Sure.

(Pause.)

THE WITNESS: I believe that it would have been after Mr. Roseman met with Stan Sporkin that morning to go over the first draft that Mr. Roseman was advised and subsequently advised me that the Government of Israel would be involved in the -- possibly involved in the shipment of arms to Iran, and I think that's -- the reference to third countries in the second line is to reflect that -- is to reflect that additional information, and that I would have learned that day.

BY MR. CAROME:

Q And did Mr. Roseman explain at all to you what it was that Israel would be doing?

A I think that he mentioned in a general way that the Government of Israel might be involved in transporting the military materiel to Iran. He didn't elaborate beyond that, though, as I can recall.

Q Did the question of where these arms or other materiels would come from ever arise?

A Did it ever arise or did it arise on --

Q Let me rephrase the question.

In your conversations on January 2nd and January 3rd --

A Uh-huh.

Q -- with Mr. Roseman, did the subject of where the weapons would be coming from come up?

A I don't believe that it did, no.

Q Was it your assumption that these would be weapons coming out of the United States that would be working their way to Iran?

A I didn't make any assumption.

Q The second draft, the January 3rd draft --

A Yeah.

Q -- includes, following a parethetical 2 --

A Uh-huh.

Q -- the objective of obtaining intelligence not otherwise obtainable.

A Uh-huh.

Q Was that something that you recall Mr. Roseman bringing down after his discussion with Mr. Sporkin?

A I'm afraid I cannot recall exactly what -- whether he mentioned that specifically or what that -- what that is exactly intended to reflect.

Q But that presumably is reflective of one of Mr. Sporkin's comments about the first draft; is that right?

A Yes, I assume that's correct.

Q The second paragraph of the January 3rd draft refers to "more moderate elements within and outside the Government of Iran." What do you recall being said on the subject of moderates in Iran by Mr. Roseman during this time?

A As I had mentioned earlier, I did not -- obviously we must have discussed on the meeting of the 2nd the fact the recipients of the assistance were to be moderate -- moderate factions within Iran, as that is reflected in the 2nd January finding.

I do not have a specific recollection of Mr. Sporkin asking us to put more moderate, to, you know, to further -- to give a more detailed description of those exact elements. Again, I assume he must have given some instruction, but I don't recall specifically what he said.

Q Both the January 2nd and January 3rd drafts that we've been looking at talk about termination of the assistance if the United States learns that the materiel is being used for purposes -- actually, the language is quite different in the -- as to what it is --

A Yes.

Q -- that would trigger a termination.

A Yes.

Q In the first, what would trigger a termination of the assistance is use of the material other than for furtherance of Iran's war effort against Iraq.

Do you recall, is that something that Mr. Roseman had talked about on the first meeting on the 2nd?

A Yes, I believe he had referred to that and he also, in the discussion the following day. This reinforces the point that we discussed earlier, which is that Mr. Sporkin wanted to make it quite clear that the recipients of the assistance within Iran were not those who were participating in terrorism, nor would they participate in terrorism, and my understanding is that the revision of the language in the finding dated January 3rd was to ensure that that point was made clear.

Q The use of the word "reinstituting" in the second-to-last line of the January 3rd finding --

A Yes.

Q -- causes me to ask the question: Why was it reinstituting, rather than just instituting terrorist acts?

A I'm afraid I really don't recall.

Q It seems to suggest that perhaps these elements had at one time been engaged in terrorist acts and the concern was that they not do it again.

Do you recall anything along those lines?

A I do not. There was no discussion, no detailed discussion at all within our office of the character, the nature of the elements in Iran who would be receiving the assistance, other than the fact that they were considered to be moderates. That was really the extent of the information we received.

Q After Mr. Roseman came back with his criticisms and suggestions from Mr. Sporkin, what took place next?

A I believe that Mr. Roseman and I then sat together in his office and worked to ensure that Mr. Sporkin's comments were incorporated into a subsequent draft. And probably would have spent a period of several hours in putting that together.

Q And this Exhibit 3 is a product of that effort; is that right?

A That's right.

Q Just to clear up a few points --

A Uh-huh.

Q When you were meeting with or working with Mr. Roseman on the 3rd, were there any other people present?

A No. There were not.

Q And did Mr. Roseman say whether or not there were any people in addition to Mr. Sporkin that he had talked to about the drafting of the finding?

A He may have made reference to the fact that had Mr. Makowka been present in the office, that he certainly would have wished him to be involved. As I mentioned at the outset, the chain of command at the time was Mr. Sporkin, Mr. Makowka, Mr. Roseman and myself, and had Mr. Makowka been present in the office, I believe Mr. Roseman suggested that Mr. Sporkin would have been dealing directly with Mr. Makowka, rather than -- rather than with Mr. Roseman, but I do not recall him mentioning at that point any other individuals in the office to whom the finding would be shown.

I don't believe he mentioned -- but he referred once again to either Mr. Clarke or Mr. Jamison.

Q Now, Mr. Makowka was not in the office during this time period; is that right?

A No, that's correct.

Q He wasn't in all that week; is that right?

A I believe he was out for the entire week. He was quite ill during at least a period -- a portion of the late December and January. He had been out on leave, I believe on vacation, and became ill and exactly at what point he became ill, I don't know, but I believe that's correct; he was out of the office for the entire week.

Q Was it unusual for Mr. Roseman to be dealing directly with Mr. Sporkin?

A It was not ususual for Mr. Roseman to deal with Mr. Sporkin in the absence of Mr. Makowka. Had Mr. Makowka been present, though, yes, that's right.

Q At any time on January 2nd or 3rd, did it come to your attention that Mr. Sporkin was in touch with Oliver North on the subject of this finding?

A I believe that it came to my attention on the afternoon of January the 3rd. I'm not absolutely certain, but that is my recollection.

Q Was that something you would have learned from Mr. Roseman while you were working on the draft?

A My recollection is quite hazy. I assume that that must have been the case, but I'm afraid I really don't know for sure. I did not have any direct contact with Mr. Sporkin that day, to the best of my recollection. So I assume that if I had learned the information, yes, I would have learned it through Mr. Roseman.

Q Do you recall what was said about what Oliver North's role was?

A No. I was not given any information as to what Oliver North's role was.

Q Did you know who North was at the time?

A Yes.

Q You knew he was a -- someone who worked at the NSC?

A Yes, I did.

Q Had you met him before?

A No.

Q Had you ever met him?

A No.

Q Was there any mention of Richard Secord at any time during this time frame?

A No.

Q Have you ever met Mr. Secord?

A No, I haven't.

Q Did you ever hear his name before November 1986?

A I don't believe I did, no.

Q Let's go back to January 3rd.

A Okay.

Q What -- how much time did you and Mr. Roseman spend completing this second draft?

A As I said, I would estimate several hours.

Q And about when did you get finished?

A I would guess probably about in the mddile of the afternoon.

Q And what happened next?

A To the best of my knowledge, Mr. Roseman then took the draft up to Mr. Sporkin and I believe was advised that Mr. Sporkin would be taking the finding down to the White House. And I believe it's at that point that I probably would have been told that the finding is being taken down to Oliver North.

Q So Mr. Roseman went up to Mr. Sporkin's office, came back down and told you that it was going to be taken over to the White House; is that right?

A I believe that's the case.

Q Can you be more specific about the time of day that that took place?

A I really can't. I would, again -- my best guess would be midafternoon, perhaps 3 - 4:00 p.m.

MR. CAROME. Would you mark this as the next exhibit, please.

MS. McNEIL. Excuse me, could you identify these exhibits for the record?

UNCLASSIFIED

MR. CAROME. Sure.

MS. McNEIL. We can go either with dates and CIIN numbers or whatever numbers you prefer to use, but just so it gets on the record what the various documents are that you're putting in.

MR. CAROME. All right.

BY MR. CAROME:

Q When Mr. Roseman came back from talking to Mr. Sporkin for a second time, did he say anything about Mr. Sporkin's reaction to the second draft?

A My recollection is that he said that Mr. Sporkin was pleased and that it did accurately reflect what it was he was trying to set down on paper and did reflect the comments he had made on our draft that had been prepared the day before. That was my -- that's my recollection.

Q And did Mr. Roseman say there was anything further for you to do or for anyone at the Office of General Counsel to do on this matter at this point?

A No. I mean, other than Mr. Sporkin himself, as I mentioned, who would be taking the finding down to the White House. He did not mention at that point that -- the possibility of other agency people being involved.

Q Did anything else happen that day on this matter that you are aware of?

A Other than the finding being taken down to the White House, no. That's the extent of my recollection.

Q Did you get a report back or did you hear any report of how things had gone at the White House?

A That afternoon?

Q Yes.

A No.

Q You didn't hear any more about the matter after the finding had been taken down to the White House?

A On that Friday?

Q That's right.

A No, I don't believe that I did.

(Exhibit Number GC-4 was marked for identification.)

BY MR. CAROME:

Q I show you what's been marked as Exhibit Number 4. It's difficult to -- the CIIN number is not visible on it --

A Uh-huh.

Q It's a cover sheet dated January 3rd, 1986, and has four pages attached to it of CINN numbers 117 through 120. I ask if you've ever seen this group of documents.

Let's start with the first page.

A Uh-huh.

Q Do you recognize what that is?

A Yeah, it's a -- simply a control sheet. I do not believe I've seen this before, no.

Q All right. And the next page --

A Uh-huh.

Q -- CIIN number 117 is something called a dummy copy. Do you know what that is?

A Yes. Dummy copies are used for filing purposes when the document is top secret, as this document was.

We do not actually place the full-text copy in our soft files.

Q So this is -- I mean, it would have been in your soft files or Mr. Roseman's soft files; is that correct?

A As it indicates on the distribution, it would have been placed in a number of different files, including my -- what is called my signer file. The signer file, as the name indicates, is a record of all the documents that -- not only that I have, in fact, signed, but in which I've had substantial responsibility for their preparation.

Q Those are your initials, GDC?

A That's correct.

Q And do you know what ILD opinion file is?

A That is a reference to -- ILD is the Intelligence Law Division, a division of which I was and am now a member and we also keep a divisional file of documents that the division has been involved in preparing.

Q And what is ICA subject file?

A The ICA subject file -- ICA is the Intelligence Community Affairs Division that I had referred to earlier. I'm afraid I do not recall why they would have been included on the distribution. I believe that Mr. Roseman indicated that, because the Intelligence Community Affairs Division is the repository in the office for covert action findings, as I mentioned before, that it was appropriate that they be given a copy of this. That is my recollection.

Q And the fact that this says "Copy 2," rather than dummy copy indicates that they would've been getting an actual copy of the document; is that right?

A That's right.

Q Same for Ollie North; he would actually be getting a copy of the document; is that right?

A That's right.

Q And the classification in Number [redacted] is that you? Is that your classification number?

A No, no.

MR. CAROME: If we could go off the record for just a minute.

(Discussion off the record.)

BY MR. CAROME:

Q Mr. Cole, the next page appears to be copy 2 of the January 3rd finding that we were talking about a moment ago.

A That's right.

Q And, by the way, the fact that it contains alternative language up at the top regarding congressional notification, does that indicate to you that at some point there was going to be further work to be done on this finding in the Office of General Counsel?

A No. No, as I indicated before, I did not know exactly where the decision was going to be made. I assumed it would be made by the Director and finally, obviously, the President. I was not aware whether or not additional work would be done in the Office of General Counsel in making that change.

Q All right.

The next page of this exhibit is the -- I believe it is the January 2nd finding that you worked on. And the next page is a copy of the November '85 mini-finding. Now again, you said you didn't see that document or know about that document until November '86. Is that right?

A That's correct.

Q And do you have any idea why these three documents would have been grouped together or do you know whether they were grouped together and sent over to the White House together?

A No to either question. I don't know why they would have been and I had no idea that they were.

Q It would have been your expectation that what Mr. Sporkin was taking down to the White House was simply a copy of the January 3rd draft that you --

A That's correct. There wouldn't have been any reason to take down the draft, and as I said, I was not aware of the existence of the so-called mini-finding. I wouldn't have had any expectation that that would have gone down.

Q What was the next event or development that you were aware of with respect to this finding that you had been working on after it was taken down to the White House?

A A meeting was held on Monday, the following Monday, which would be January the 6th. I believe it was Monday. It is possible it was on Tuesday, but my recollection is that it was the 6th, that evening, I would guess probably beginning around 5:30 or 6:00, I believe that Mr. Roseman was absent.

A memo had been prepared by Betty Ann Smith, who was an attorney at the time in our Litigation Division, concerning various -- various statutory provisions dealing with the shipment of arms..

I recall having a copy of that memo and discussing it in the context of this meeting. That is the next -- the next contact I had pertaining to this matter.

Q You weren't aware of -- strike that.

Who was present at that meeting?

A I believe it was the General Counsel, Mr. Sporkin, George Clarke, George Jamison, Betty Ann Smith and myself.

Q And what was the purpose of the meeting?

A I was called in, to the best of my recollection, while the meeting was in process. I believe the only reason I was asked to participate was because of my division's involvement in drafting the finding the previous week.

I believe that Mr. Roseman was not present in the office at the time. I don't know why. And ordinarly, he would have been asked to participate in the meeting. As he was not there, I was called in and asked to participate.

Q Who called you in?

A I believe it was Stan Sporkin's secretary. That's my recollection. During the course of the meeting, Mr. Sporkin had a conversation with Mr. North.

Q He called Mr. North on the phone while everyone was present?

A I'm trying to remember whether I walked in during the course of the conversation or was actually present. I believe I was actually present when he initiated the call, and yes, he did make the call.

Q He placed the call?

A That's right.

Q And what was said on the telephone?

A My recollection is quite hazy. I really don't recall specifically. I don't believe it was a very long conversation.

Q How did you know it was Mr. North on the other end?

A He said, "Hello, Ollie." He said, "Hello, Ollie, this is Stan."

Q Can you recall anything else that was said during the conversation?

A I cannot recall in any detail. I believe he -- and this was the reason I was, I am sure, in describing what I knew on Friday afternoon, whether I knew on Friday or, in fact, learned on Monday that it was Mr. North who was the recipient of the finding at the White House, I really do not remember at which point I learned that. It is possible that I did not learn it until the meeting on Monday.

I believe he wanted to ensure that Mr. North had the finding and I believe that he was discussing coming down to see Mr. North that evening. I believe that was the principal purpose of the call, was to set up a meeting for Mr. Sporkin to go down to the National Security Council later that night.

Q Was there any discussion of the subject matter of the finding on the phone?

A I really cannot recall.

Q Anything else you can recall about the phone call; how long did it last?

A I really can't. I would guess it probably lasted a couple of minutes. I don't believe it was a lengthy conversation.

Q This meeting was taking place in Mr. Sporkin's office; is that right?

A Right.

Q What was going on at the meeting when you went in?

A There was discussion about the memo that Betty Ann Smith had prepared, which listed various statutory provisions bearing on the regulation of arms exports, various provisions of the Foreign Assistance Act and the Arms Export Control Act and prohibitions on transfers of arms and circumstances in which arms could be transferred and the types of countries who could not receive those arms.

The conversation -- the meeting seemed to be in full swing when I arrived.

MR. CAROME: Would you mark this as the next exhibit.

(Exhibit Number GC-5 was marked for identification.)

BY MR. CAROME:

Q Pardon the yellow highlighting on this document, but I believe this is the better --

A It is the curse of our trade.

Q I believe it is the Betty Ann Smith memorandum you were discussing, and it has been marked as Exhibit Number 5.

Is that the memorandum that was being discussed at the meeting?

A Let me take a quick look.

MS. McNEIL. What other identifiers are there on that exhibit?

MR. CAROME. There's a CIIN number 115.

MS. McNEIL. 6 January 1986; right?

MR. CAROME. That's right.

THE WITNESS. Yes, I believe this is the memo that was being discussed.

BY MR. CAROME:

Q Was it clear to you that this memo related to the matters that were also being addressed by the finding that you had drafted?

A Yes.

Q And why were these various arms statutes under discussion; do you know?

A I believe they were under discussion because it was thought that they may have implications for the transfer of arms that was contemplated in the finding.

Q What was the general flow of the discussion on the subject?

A I cannot recall in any great detail. There was also discussion of a provision of a provision of the -- I believe it is the section of the U.S. Code dealing with the Department of Defense, which dealt with reportable transactions at, I believe my recollection is that I was actually sent out of the meeting to get a copy of the statute and it deals with the point at which a transaction must be reported to Congress and it's a threshold that's set in terms of the dollar value of the transaction.

Q Is the statute you're referring to 10 USC 133 Note? I'm not sure that that --

A As I don't have it in front of me, I really cannot say. 10 USC, I believe, is the section of the U.S. Code dealing with the Armed Forces. It would have been in that chapter.

Q In any event, the concern dealt with the question of reporting to Congress; is that right?

A That was one of the concerns. The other concern that was being discussed was the mechanism for the transfer of the military material. And, to the best of my recollection, the question that was being addressed was the circumstances in which a third country could be used in making such a transfer. And specifically, whether or not the Government of Israel could transfer armaments which were in its possession at the time or whether some other mechanism had to be employed in order for the transfer to be consistent with the legal requirements that were discussed in Betty Ann Smith's memo.

To the best of my recollection, there were really two points under discussion. The first was the mechanism of the transfer; the second was the reportability if the -- if the military items to be used are -- originate from the Department of Defense, our Department of Defense.

Q Why was it that reporting was a concern?

A Well, as I had indicated before, because of the sensitivity of the matter, Mr. Sporkin, in discussion with Mr. Roseman, had indicated that this option -- the option of not immediately reporting the finding was to be -- was to be preserved. And I understood at the time that the concern that is reflected in the language of the draft finding that we had prepared was the same concern.

Q Am I correct that it was perceived that the statutes that Betty Ann Smith was looking at -- the Foreign Assistance Act and the Arms Export Control Act, were viewed as problematic because they contained specific and independent reporting requirements?

A To the best of my recollection, that's -- that was part of the consideration, yes.

Q And the same would go for the other specific DOD statute; is that right?

A Yes, but as I mentioned, it wasn't simply the reporting requirements that were at issue. There is a question of in what circumstances and I, you know, I, again, am not -- am not and was not the expert in this area. This is an area that is generally dealt with by the Intelligence Community Affairs Division.

My understanding, though, was that there were provisions in the statutes dealing with whether or not a third country, under what circumstances would be permitted to make such a transfer. But I think you're correct in saying the reporting requirements on those statutes were certainly an important topic in this meeting.

Q And it was specifically under discussion that Israel might be a transferring party; is that right?

A Yes. That's right.

Q And was the question of replenishment of weapons that Israel would transfer out of its own stocks discussed at this meeting?

A Yes, it was.

Q And what was said on the subject of replenishment?

A I believe it was -- it was discussed whether or not the reporting requirements would differ if replenishment of Israeli stocks were made by -- directly by the Department of Defense or whether the transfer was achieved -- the replenishment was achieved by an intelligence agency.

Q And what was the flow of that discussion?

A Well, there was -- to the best of my recollection, there was no resolution. There was some suggestion, though, that the intelligence community would not be subject to the Department of Defense reporting requirements if it made the replenishment and so there was thought given to whether or not the replenishment of the Israeli stocks would -- should be accomplished through an intelligence agency rather than through an entity of the Department of Defense.

Q Was it a working assumption at this meeting that the arms that would work their way to Iran would come out of Israeli stock?

A No, I don't believe that it was. I think that all options were considered to be live ones. There was a variety of discussion, as I recall, as to whether or not the arms might originate in this country or might originate in Israel. Replenishment was one option that was considered. I believe that it was also considered that the arms would be passed, using the Israelis as an intermediary. There were a variety of topics discussed.

As I mentioned earlier, I came in in the middle of the meeting. I had not any previous expertise in this area. I had only been in the office about three months. I was not fully cognizant of these sorts of transactions, so I, you know -- I cannot give you the fullest explanation.

Q Was the subject of an economy-act transfer from DOD to CIA discussed at this meeting?

A An --

Q An economy-act transaction?

A I do believe there was reference to a possible transfer from DOD to CIA. The reference to economy act does not ring any bells, though. I don't believe they refer to that statute by name.

Q Was there any reference to the involvement in the transaction of private parties and whether or not that would help any of the legal problems?

A I don't believe there was, no.

Q No reference to private parties at all being involved that you recall?

A I don't believe there was any reference to private parties at all. That is my recollection.

Q Is that a fairly firm recollection?

A I think it's a reasonably firm recollection.

Q Was there discussion of what types of weapons or other material -- it was weapons that were under consideration; is that right?

A It was munitions of some sort. I, again, my recollection is not specific, but I don't believe there was a reference to the sort of arms that were being transferred.

Q You don't remember TOW missiles being discussed?

A No.

Q Or Hawk missiles?

A No. I do not.

Q Who was leading the discussion?

A Mr. Sporkin was the General Counsel. I think it's fair to say that he was leading the discussion, though the manner of conversation was quite wide open. I mean, thoughts and suggestions were being fired from all over the room. I don't recall that anybody in particular took command of the meeting. I think there were -- you know, there was input from all quarters.

Q Was the goal to figure out a way that this transaction could be done; was that the major goal?

A Yes.

Q And did Mr. Sporkin make it clear that he wanted to get this done quickly because there was some urgency to performing the transaction?

A As I mentioned, my understanding was that when he went down to discuss this matter with Mr. North, as had been indicated in the phone call that took place fairly early on in the meeting, that he wanted to bring some sort of a recommendation on this subject. That was my understanding. And so -- but, yes, it was most definitely intended that we get our thoughts in order in some form and to make a recommendation on this to Mr. North.

Q Were any decisions made at the meeting?

A I guess my response would be that there probably were, but that -- they were not communicated to me.

Q Were you there for the duration of the meeting?

A I was there -- I believe I was there for virtually all of the meeting after I arrived, yes, until Mr. Sporkin left to go downtown.

I think it is fair to say that Mr. Sporkin often conducted meetings in which he would solicit everyone's views. He would not necessarily communicate the decision or the resolution that he arrived at to other people in the meeting. I think he probably did make a decision as to the recommendation he was going to make, but that was not communicated to me.

Q Did it seem clear by the end of the meeting that the transactions being contemplated would be carried out in some fashion other than pursuant to the Foreign Assistance Act or the Arms Export Control Act?

A I'm not sure I understand the question.

Q My question is was it clear by the end of the meeting that the mechanism for going forward with this transaction would be something other than mechanisms covered by the Arms Export Control Act or the Foreign Assistance Act?

A No, to my mind, it was not fairly clear. As I mentioned, serious consideration was given to other proposals, to other alternatives, specifically to using an intelligence agency in order to make the transfer.

I don't think it's fair to say, though, that in my mind at the time, I was convinced that it was going to be done in this fashion. I guess the only statement I could make was that serious consideration had been given to it and that it was obviously one of the leading proposals under consideration. But I didn't really form an opinion as to how definitely it was going to be done.

Q Was the group at this meeting told that the finding had, in fact, been prepared and you had been working on it?

Was that evident to the group?

A I think it was basically a working assumption, yes, and I think -- I believe that they had been told. I think that that's -- I think that Mr. Sporkin had probably told them before I came in. I mean, it certainly would not have been the normal course of business to include a junior member of my division in such a discussion without some sort of explanation as to why I was there.

Q Was there a discussion at the meeting of the unusualness of the concept of the United States sending arms to Iran?

A Not at that meeting, no.

Q Had that been discussed before?

A Prior to the meeting?

Q Yes.

A I -- well, yes, it had. I think that when Mr. Roseman was first given the instructions from Mr. Sporkin on the preceding Thursday and we had been asked to prepare a finding, I think Mr. Roseman and I both felt and expressed to one another that this was a very surprising development and -- I mean, when I referred earlier to the extreme sensitivity of the matter, that's -- I think that was really the view that we were expressing.

Q Was that sensitivity discussed again at this January 6th meeting?

A I don't believe that it was. I think that at the January 6th meeting, I think -- it appeared that the people involved had already been -- were already well informed as to what was contemplated and the real purpose of the meeting was to explore various alternatives for, you know, for accomplishing the transaction. I think whatever -- you know, whatever surprise would have been expressed by the, you know, the various participants in the group probably would have been expressed earlier.

I don't believe it was expressed at that meeting, no.

Q Did Mr. Sporkin say anything about the status of the finding at this meeting?

A I believe that Mr. North had indicated in the conversation at the outset of the meeting that he had read the finding and basically found it satisfactory. I don't recall any other discussion of it there now.

Q Was Mr. North on a speaker phone?

A No.

Q You could just infer --

A I could gather from the tenor of Mr. Sporkin's reaction his comments.

Q And was it your understanding that essentially the finding was at the White House awaiting signature at that point?

A I really -- I did not know. I did not know what the next step would have been.

Q And when Mr. North was on the phone talking about the finding, you assumed it to be the finding that you had just been working on the previous few days; is that right?

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A Absolutely, yes.

Q Were there any tasks assigned to anybody at that meeting by Mr. Sporkin or anyone else?

A As I mentioned, being the most junior member of the congregation present, I was dispatched to the library to grab the defense statute that I referred to. Betty Ann Smith obviously had been tasked to prepare the memo that she had. I believe she was probably tasked with it that afternoon. I don't believe that there were any other tasks that came out of that meeting, or were performed during the course of the meeting.

Q How long did the meeting go on?

A I estimated that I came in about 5:30 to 6 o'clock, and I think it probably went on for probably another hour and a half, maybe to 7:30, 7:45.

Q Where were things left when the meeting broke up? What was going to happen next?

A I believe that Mr. Sporkin was planning on going down to talk to Mr. North. That was my recollection.

Q Was there any further discussion at the meeting about which of the two reporting options -- either reporting or not reporting would be pursued?

A In the context of the finding?

Q Yes.

A Not in the context of the various statutes?

Q In the context of the finding.

A No. I don't think that there was.

Q Was it clear by the end of the meeting that the covert finding route was the route that was going to be followed?

A The wisdom of the finding was not discussed in the course of this meeting. I think it was pretty much taken as a given when we entered the meeting that there would be a finding. So I guess the answer to your question is yes, that it was not as a result of discussions at that meeting.

Q One of the options being discussed --

A Uh-huh.

Q -- I take it at the meeting was that the Department of Defense might make transactions or transfers of arms to Iran directly and not involving the CIA; is that right?

A I believe that's correct.

Q Why would there have been a -- why would a finding have been needed if that option were pursued?

A Well, as you -- you know, as you will see in looking at the draft of the finding that we proposed, the transfer of military materiel was simply a part of what was contemplated in the finding. There were certainly other programmatic aspects that may very well have involved the Intelligence Agency in activities other than the collection of foreign intelligence. And under the Hughes-Ryan Act that would

~~necessotate~~ necessitate a finding.

Q What activities might there have been other than transferring arms?

A Well, I mean there is reference here, as you will see on the finding marked January 3rd to the provision of funds, intelligence, counterintelligence, training, guidance, communications assistance, a variety of activities in which an intelligency agency and not the Department of Defense would have been involved.

The requirements of Hughes-Ryan, as I am sure you are aware, is that if an intelligence agency in other than the collection of foreign intelligence overseas, that a finding is required.

Q Of course, the finding that you drafted specifically referred to the CIA being involved in the provision of weapons and materiels to Iran; is that right?

A The finding that I had prepared -- the January 3rd finding -- says -- in the language at the top of the finding there is a reference to operations undertaken by the Central Intelligence Agency in foreign countries. To that extent the answer, I guess, is yes.

Q Was it your assumption that no matter which of the options under consideration at this January 6th meeting was ultimately adopted that this finding would be pursued and --

A That was my impression, yes.

Q Who did Betty Ann Smith work for at that time?

A Betty Ann Smith was an attorney in the Litigation Division. The Litigation Division at the time was headed by George Clarke. George Clarke was, as I recall, was the Division Chief for both Intelligence Community Affairs and Litigation, to the best of my recollection.

There was a Deputy Division Chief who would have had specific responsibility for Litigation. There was a Deputy Division Chief who had control of the Intelligence Community side -- that was George Jameson who you've mentioned before. I believe that the Deputy who presided over the Litigation side was Page Moffett. So she would have worked for Page Moffett and for George Clarke.

But I think it's fair to say that attorneys within that Division, because Mr. Clarke wore a dual hat, would occasionally become involved in the activities of the other divisions. A Litigation attorney may have responsibilities in the Intelligence Community area. So it's possible that Betty Ann Smith may have been asked to do some work for George Jameson.

Q Mr. Carome. Again, you recall that when the meeting broke up Mr. Sporkin was going to be going down to the White House --

A That's my recollection.

Q -- to meet with Mr. North; is that right?

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A That's right.

Q Did you understand there was going to be anyone else meeting with Mr. Sporkin and Mr. North?

A No.

Q Do you recall what time it was that Mr. North and Mr. Sporkin were going to be meeting?

A As I indicated, I think the meeting, our meeting, wound up around 7:30 or 7:45. My understanding was that Mr. Sporkin would be heading down to the -- to see Mr. North immediately thereafter.

Q And do you recall whether it was Mr. North's idea or Mr. Sporkin's idea that they get together that night?

A I do not recall.

Q What was the next thing that you are aware of that occurred with respect to the preparation of the finding?

A I have no further -- I had no further involvement with any aspect of the finding after that meeting on Monday. I made several inquiries of others who had been involved in the meeting later in the week to ask them whether they had heard anything as to what had happened, how it had progressed. And they didn't, apparently did not have any indication. And I really received no further information.

Q Did you hear during the month of January that a finding had been signed?

A No.

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Q Were you aware that Mr. Sporkin and Mr. North were continuing to pursue the finding?

A I don't believe I had any awareness that it was being pursued after the meeting on January the 6th.

Q Essentially that meeting at the 6th was the last time you heard about the subject of possible shipments of materiels to Iran?

A Until November of 1986 when the story became public, that's right.

Q You had no contemporaneous knowledge of weapon shipments taking place to Iran?

A None.

Q No contemporary awareness of -- strike that.

I'm right that it was clear from the very beginning of your involvement in this matter that this was an effort directed at securing the release of American hostages; is that right?

A No, that's not correct. That's not correct at all.

Q When did the subject of hostages enter the discussion?

A My understanding in the initial instructions that I was given on January the 2nd was that the purpose of the finding, the objective as it indicates here, was to establish connections with more moderate elements in Iran. My recollection is that there was some discussion as to whether

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or not reference to the hostages -- to the release of hostages -- would be included in the finding. I'm afraid I do not have a firm recollection, though, as to how it was -- whether it was decided to make an explicit reference. My recollection as it's reflected here is that it was not.

Q Did you ever see later drafts of a finding after this January 3rd draft?

A Well, after the -- after the affair became public, yes, at that point I was shown the -- a subsequent finding.

MR. CAROME: Could you mark this as the next exhibit?

(Exhibit No. GC-6 was marked for identification.)

MS. McNEIL: Could we take a break? Is it possible to take a break?

MR. CAROME: Yes, absolutely.

MS. McNEIL: Would you like to take a break?

THE WITNESS: Sure. That would be fine.

(Brief recess)

MR. CAROME: Back on the record.

BY MR. CAROME:

Q Mr. Cole, I'm sorry if this next question is sort of repeating what we just went through.

Could you tell me again when it was in early January that the subject of American hostages came up, and in what context it came up?

A To the best of my recollection, there was no mention of the release of the American hostages in the discussion that I had with Mr. Roseman on 2nd January. I believe -- and this is only to the best of my recollection -- that there was -- that Mr. Roseman did refer to the fact that there had been a -- that the subject of the hostages had been discussed with Mr. Sporkin, I believe in the Friday morning session that we referred to. But exactly what the resolution was with respect to the language of the finding, I do not have a firm recollection.

Q But Mr. Roseman referred to it, you think on that Friday?

Was it referred to in the sense that the activities to be undertaken by the CIA would be directed in part toward freeing Americans held hostage in Lebanon?

A If the question is -- I'm sorry. Was the question whether the Agency's efforts would be directed towards the release of the hostages?

Q That's right.

A I think there was still some confusion in Mr. Roseman's mind as to what exactly Mr. Sporkin wanted done in that area. And I can only assume that it was taken care of to Mr. Sporkin's satisfaction. I don't recall, though, exactly what the resolution was.

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Q Was the subject of hostages brought up at all during the January 6th meeting?

A No.

Q I show you what's been marked as Exhibit 6. It's a several page document, the first page of which has a number on it, N9545. It includes a covert action finding bearing Ronald Reagan's signature dated January 6th, 1986. And it's that part of the document that I refer you to. And I ask if you have any recollection of having seen this document?

A I do not recall seeing this document, no.

Q And it's similar to the January 3rd finding you drafted. Among the differences is the inclusion of a specific sub-item 3 referring to hostages.

A That's correct.

Q You don't know, or you were not part of any discussions leading to the inclusion of that sub-item; is that right?

A That's right.

Q And you can't be sure whether or not the finding discussed in the phone call between North and Sporkin that you heard was the January 3rd draft that you had done or this draft dated January 6th; is that right?

A No, I cannot be sure, that's right.

Q Do you have any idea which of the two it was?

A No, I don't.

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Q Did the subject of the hostages ever -- strike that. After your discussion with Mr. Roseman --

A Uh-huh.

Q -- on Friday, January 3rd, and the reference is to hostages, did the question of how the hostages fit into the scheme ever become clearer to you?

A Not until November of 1986 when the story became public. No, it did not become clear to me over the span of the next couple of days.

Q Were you surprised that you had been involved in a finding and then never learn the result of what happened with it?

A No. No, because as I indicated at the outset, I was surprised that I had been involved in the finding. It did not surprise me that I was not subsequently informed.

Q Moving to a different subject.

A Uh-huh.

Q Am I correct that sometime in the summer of 1986 you had one or more discussions with Charlie Allen on the question of monitoring of telephone calls?

A Yes.

Q Can you tell me when -- how many discussions did you have with them on that subject?

A I would estimate that I had two. I'm sure that I had one, and I may have had one more.

Q And when did they take place?

A I do not recall exactly, but it was sometime in the early summer, the early summer of 1986.

Q And as to the first conversation on that subject, how was the conversation initiated?

A I was told by my superiors, I believe by both Mr. Makowka and Mr. Roseman, that Mr. Allen had contacted them with respect to obtaining authorization in order to monitor some telephone calls. There is in a CIA agency regulation which provides that such monitoring can only be done for an operational or security purpose and the approval of the appropriate deputy director must be obtained.

I was aware of this regulation and was asked by, I believe by both Mr. Roseman and Mr. Makowka, to contact Mr. Allen, who is, as I mentioned, had been a client of mine previously in connection with the Holloway Commission, to talk to him to get some further information as to the purpose for the monitoring and to take care of drawing up the necessary authorization. That's how it was initiated.

Q And you then had a conversation with Mr. Allen; is that right?

A That's right, uh-huh.

Q And what did he tell you in that conversation?

A He said that he was anticipating that he may be receiving telephone calls from outside the country relating to the release of the hostages held in the Middle East and that he wished to obtain authorization for recording those calls.

Q Did he tell you who it was that he wanted to monitor?

A No, he did not.

Q Did he say that these were calls to himself that he wanted to monitor?

A He mentioned that the calls might either be to him or to another person in his office.

Q Did he say who the other person was?

A No.

Q Did he say whether these people on the other end of the conversations were foreigners?

A No. He simply indicated that the calls would be coming from outside the country and specifically that they might be coming from the Middle East.

Q And did you specifically advise him that there needed to be higher approval for such monitoring if only one of the parties consented?

A That's right. I explained -- I explained the nature of the internal Agency regulation mentioned that we should prepare a memorandum requesting authorization from the appropriate deputy directors for his signature, and he said fine, go ahead and draw it up.

Q Did Allen say anything about the fact that he had already been engaged in monitoring phone calls prior to --

A No.

Q -- this conversation?

A No, he did not.

Q Did he say that the calls would be originating in Lebanon?

A No.

Q But you do recall the Middle East?

A Yes.

Q Did anything -- did you learn anything further -- withdraw that.

What was the resolution of this first conversation on the subject?

A That I was to go ahead and draw up the necessary approval memorandum, which I did, and that it would be sent over to him for his signature, and then would be circulated to -- we, to the best of my recollection, decided to submit it for -- to approval both for the Deputy Director for Operations as well as the Deputy Director for Administration.

[redacted]

Q You said you might have had a second conversation on the subject.

A Yeah, I think I may have called them up to say that -- we had a discussion about the memo with the General Counsel. It was considered of sufficient importance since it was being submitted to Deputy Directors for approval, to discuss it with the General Counsel. We did -- I believe that there were some language changes that may have been made that may have departed a little bit from what had been originally discussed with Mr. Allen. I believe I called him up to say, Mr. Allen, Charlie, this is what we have in mind, how does this sound? I think he said fine. I think at that point I sent it over. That was probably the nature of the second conversation.

Q And did you ever learn about calls that were monitored pursuant to this authorization?

A I did learn -- I learned after November of 1986. I did not learn -- I was not advised in the period that summer or early that fall. I did learn after the -- you know, after this matter became a matter of public record, yes.

Q At the time you were talking to Mr. Allen about these monitoring of calls --

A Uh-huh.

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Q -- for the purposes of, or related to hostages --

A Right.

Q -- did you draw any connection between that activity and the activity addressed by the findings you were drafting in January?

A No, I don't believe that I did.

Q Let me see if there's anything else I want to ask you.

A Okay, sure.

(Pause)

MR. CAROME: I think that's it. Thank you very much.

THE WITNESS: Thank you.

MR. CAROME: We can go off the record.

(Whereupon, at 3:30 p.m., the deposition was adjourned.)

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The Director of Central Intelligence

Washington, D.C. 20505

26 November 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR: Vice Admiral John M. Poindexter, USN
Deputy Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs

SUBJECT: Presidential Finding on Middle East

Pursuant to our conversation this should go to the President for his signature and should not be passed around in any hands below our level.

WJCasey
William J. Casey

Attachment:
As stated

[illegible] Declassified/Released on 1/25/88
under provisions of E.O. 12356
by B. Reger, National Security Council

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DEPOSITION
EXHIBIT
GC-1
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CIIN #102

UNCLASSIFIED [redacted]

Finding Pursuant to Section 662 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, As Amended, Concerning Operations Undertaken by the Central Intelligence Agency in Foreign Countries, Other Than Those Intended Solely for the Purpose of Intelligence Collection

I have been briefed on the efforts being made by private parties to obtain the release of Americans held hostage in the Middle East, and hereby find that the following operations in foreign countries (including all support necessary to such operations) are important to the national security of the United States. Because of the extreme sensitivity of these operations, in the exercise of the President's constitutional authorities, I direct the Director of Central Intelligence not to brief the Congress of the United States, as provided for in Section 501 of the National Security Act of 1947, as amended, until such time as I may direct otherwise.

SCOPE	DESCRIPTION
Hostage Rescue - Middle East	The provision of assistance by the Central Intelligence Agency to private parties in their attempt to obtain the release of Americans held hostage in the Middle East. Such assistance is to include the provision of transportation, communications, and other necessary support. As part of these efforts certain foreign materiel and munitions may be provided to the Government of Iran which is taking steps to facilitate the release of the American hostages. All prior actions taken by U.S. Government officials in furtherance of this effort are hereby ratified.

The White House
Washington, D.C.

Date:

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2 Jan 86
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UNCLASSIFIED [redacted]

Finding Pursuant to Section 662 of The Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 As Amended, Concerning Operations Undertaken by the Central Intelligence Agency in Foreign Countries, Other Than Those Intended Solely for the Purpose of Intelligence Collection

I hereby find that the following operation in a foreign country (including all support necessary to such operation) is important to the national security of the United States, and direct the Director of Central Intelligence, or his designee, to report this Finding to the intelligence committees of the Congress pursuant to Section 501 of the National Security Act of 1947, as amended, and to provide such briefings as necessary.

SCOPE	DESCRIPTION
Iran	Work with individuals and organizations both within and outside of Iran, and with selected foreign liaison services, and other foreign government entities, to identify, develop and promote the advancement of moderate alternative leaders in Iran. Provide intelligence, counterintelligence, communications assistance and funding to the identified potential alternative leaders to promote the establishment of a more moderate government in Iran and thus reduce the threat of terrorism directed against U.S. persons, property and interests. Protect and support these operations by conducting a program of deception, unilaterally and through third countries, which may include the use of all forms of propaganda.
	Provide arms, equipment and related materiel to the Government of Iran to assist in its military operations against Iraq in order to encourage to curtailment of terrorist activity directed against U.S. targets and interests. This assistance will be terminated if the U.S. Government learns that this materiel is being used for purposes other than the furtherance of Iran's war effort against Iraq.

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under provisions of E.O. 12356
by K. Johnson, National Security Council

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The White House
Washington, D.C.
Date: 2 January 1986

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GC-2
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UNCLASSIFIED [redacted]

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Finding Pursuant to Section 662 of The Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 As Amended, Concerning Operations Undertaken by the Central Intelligence Agency in Foreign Countries, Other Than Those Intended Solely for the Purpose of Intelligence Collection

I hereby find that the following operation in a foreign country (including all support necessary to such operation) is important to the national security of the United States, [and due to its extreme sensitivity and security risks, I determine it is essential to limit prior notice, and direct the Director of Central Intelligence to refrain from reporting this Finding to the Congress as provided in Section 501 of the National Security Act of 1947, as amended, until I otherwise direct.]

-or-

[and direct the Director of Central Intelligence, or his designee, to report this Finding to the intelligence committees of the Congress pursuant to Section 501 of the National Security Act of 1947, as amended, and to provide such briefings as necessary.]

SCOPE	DESCRIPTION
Iran	Work with Iranian elements, groups and individuals, selected foreign liaison services and third countries, all of which are sympathetic to U.S. Government interests and which do not conduct or support terrorist actions directed against U.S. persons, property or interests, for the purpose of: (1) establishing a more moderate government in Iran, and (2) obtaining from them significant intelligence not otherwise obtainable, to determine the current Iranian Government's intentions with respect to its neighbors and with respect to terrorist acts. Provide funds, intelligence, counterintelligence, training, guidance and communications assistance to these elements, groups, individuals, liaison services and third countries in support of these activities.
	Establish contact with the more moderate elements within and outside the Government of Iran to establish their credibility with that Government by the provision of arms, equipment and related materiel to these elements on condition that these materials be limited in their use essentially to the Iran-Iraqi conflict. This assistance will be discontinued if the U.S. Government learns that these elements are misusing or intend to misuse this assistance, for the purpose of reinstituting terrorist actions against U.S. persons, property or interests, or otherwise.

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by K. Johnson, National Security Council

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(P.G.) 6/9/87

The White House
Washington, D.C.
Date: 3 January 1986

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		DATE 3 January 198

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FORM 26 OBSOLETE PREVIOUS EDITIONS

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The White House
Washington, D.C.
Date: 3 January 1986

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CIIN # 117

UNCLASSIFIED [redacted]

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Finding Pursuant to Section 662 of The Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 As Amended, Concerning Operations Undertaken by the Central Intelligence Agency in Foreign Countries, Other Than Those Intended Solely for the Purpose of Intelligence Collection

I hereby find that the following operation in a foreign country (including all support necessary to such operation) is important to the national security of the United States, [and due to its extreme sensitivity and security risks, I determine it is essential to limit prior notice, and direct the Director of Central Intelligence to refrain from reporting this Finding to the Congress as provided in Section 501 of the National Security Act of 1947, as amended, until I otherwise direct.]

-or-

[and direct the Director of Central Intelligence, or his designee, to report this Finding to the intelligence committees of the Congress pursuant to Section 501 of the National Security Act of 1947, as amended, and to provide such briefings as necessary.]

SCOPE	DESCRIPTION
Iran	Work with Iranian elements, groups and individuals, selected foreign liaison services and third countries, all of which are sympathetic to U.S. Government interests and which do not conduct or support terrorist actions directed against U.S. persons, property or interests, for the purpose of: (1) establishing a more moderate government in Iran, and (2) obtaining from them significant intelligence not otherwise obtainable, to determine the current Iranian Government's intentions with respect to its neighbors and with respect to terrorist acts. Provide funds, intelligence, counterintelligence, training, guidance and communications assistance to these elements, groups, individuals, liaison services and third countries in support of these activities. **Establish contact with the more moderate elements within and outside the Government of Iran to establish their credibility with that Government by the provision of arms, equipment and related materiel to these elements on condition that these materials be limited in their use essentially to the Iran-Iraqi conflict. This assistance will be discontinued if the U.S. Government learns that these elements are misusing or intend to misuse this assistance, for the purpose of reinstituting terrorist actions against U.S. persons, property or interests, or otherwise.**

The White House
Washington, D.C.
Date: 3 January 1986

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AT-11 #112 TO

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by K. Johnson, National Security Council

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Finding Pursuant to Section 662 of The Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 As Amended, Concerning Operations Undertaken by the Central Intelligence Agency in Foreign Countries, Other Than Those Intended Solely for the Purpose of Intelligence Collection

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by K. Johnson, National Security Council

The White House
Washington, D.C.
Date: 2 January 1986

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DRAFT

Finding Pursuant to Section 662 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, As Amended, Concerning Operations Undertaken by the Central Intelligence Agency in Foreign Countries, Other Than Those Intended Solely for the Purpose of Intelligence Collection

I have been briefed on the efforts being made by private parties to obtain the release of Americans held hostage in the Middle East, and hereby find that the following operations in foreign countries (including all support necessary to such operations) are important to the national security of the United States. Because of the extreme sensitivity of these operations, in the exercise of the President's constitutional authorities, I direct the Director of Central Intelligence not to brief the Congress of the United States, as provided for in Section 501 of the National Security Act of 1947, as amended, until such time as I may direct otherwise.

SCOPE	DESCRIPTION
Hostage Rescue - Middle East	The provision of assistance by the Central Intelligence Agency to private parties in their attempt to obtain the release of Americans held hostage in the Middle East. Such assistance is to include the provision of transportation, communications, and other necessary support. As part of these efforts certain foreign material and munitions may be provided to the Government of Iran which is taking steps to facilitate the release of the American hostages. All prior actions taken by U.S. Government officials in furtherance of this effort are hereby ratified.

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by K. Johnson, National Security Council

The White House
Washington, D.C.

Date:

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6 JAN 86

DEPOSITION EXHIBIT
GC-5

UNCLASSIFIED

6 January 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR: [redacted]
Associate General Counsel

FROM: [redacted]
Office of General Counsel

SUBJECT: Third Country Transfer of Equipment Provided Under the Foreign Assistance or Arms Export Control Acts

1. **A question has arisen under what circumstances a recipient of U.S. foreign military assistance can transfer military equipment provided through the foreign assistance mechanism to a third country.** Two statutory provisions address this question: one in the context of grant assistance under the Foreign Assistance Act (FAA) and the second where the equipment was purchased by a foreign country under the Arms Export Control Act (AECA). Both Acts require Presidential consent to a third country transfer and certification to Congress where certain dollar amounts and specific types of equipment are involved.

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under provisions of E.O. 12356
by K. Johnson, National Security Council

FAA § 505, 22 U.S.C. § 2314(a) and (e)

2. In order to be eligible for military assistance on a grant basis, the recipient foreign country must agree that it will not transfer the equipment to another country without the consent of the President of the U.S. and that it will return the articles to the U.S. when they are no longer needed, unless the President agrees to other disposition. 22 U.S.C. § 2314(a)(1) and (4).

3. In considering a request for approval of any transfer by gift, sale or otherwise of any implement of war to a third country, the President shall not give his consent to the transfer unless the United States itself would transfer the defense article under consideration to that country. **The President shall not give his consent to the transfer of any significant defense articles on the U.S. Munitions List** unless the foreign country requesting consent agrees to demilitarize

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s[redacted] prior to transfer, or the proposed recipient foreign country provides a commitment in writing to the United States that it will not transfer such defense articles, if not demilitarized, to any other foreign country or person without first obtaining the consent of the President. (Consent authority was delegated to the Secretary of State in Executive Order 12163, § 1-201(a)(3),(4), and (5), September 29, 1979, 44 Fed. Reg. 56673.)

AECA § 3, 22 U.S.C. § 2753.

4. No defense article or defense service shall be sold or leased by the U.S. to any country or international organization unless the country or international organization shall have agreed not to transfer title to, or possession of, any defense article, unless the consent of the President is first obtained. The President shall not give his consent under this provision of AECA unless the U.S. itself would transfer the articles to that country. In addition, the President shall not give his consent to the transfer of significant defense articles on the U.S. Munitions List unless the transferring country agrees to demilitarize the equipment or the recipient nation agrees in writing that it will not further transfer the articles.

5. Under both the AECA and the FAA provision outlined above, the President must report a third country transfer to Congress after certain threshold requirements are reached. The President may not consent to a transfer of major defense equipment valued (in terms of its original acquisition cost) at more than $14 million or any defense article valued at more than $50 million (original acquisition cost) to a third country unless he submits a certification to the Speaker of the House and Senate Committee on Foreign Relations for congressional consent to the proposed transfer.

6. The written certification must contain (a) the name of the country proposing to make the transfer, (b) a description of the defense article or service proposed to be transferred, including its original acquisition cost, (c) the name of the proposed recipient, (d) the reasons for the proposed transfer, and (e) the date on which the transfer is proposed to be made. Such certification will be unclassified except that information regarding the dollar value and number of articles may be classified if public disclosure would be clearly detrimental to security of the United States. Consent to the transfer shall not become effective until 30 calendar days after the date of the submittal of the certification, and then only if Congress does not adopt a concurrent resolution disapproving the

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proposed transfer. Note: legislative veto declared unconstitutional by Supreme Court in INS v. Chadha, 462 U.S. 919 (1983)).

7. Functions of the President under this section, with certain exceptions inapplicable here, were delegated to the Secretary of State by E.O. No. 11958, January 18, 1977, 42 Fed. Reg. 4311. With respect to consent to a third country transfer, the Secretary of State is authorized to find, in consultation with other federal departments and agencies, whether the proposed transfer will strengthen the security of the U.S. and promote world peace.

Other Considerations

8. Both the FAA and AECA require that consent be given to a third country transfer of defense articles only if the U.S. itself would transfer the articles to that country. This caveat triggers a panoply of general policy considerations and specific prohibitions relating to foreign military assistance including:

- no assistance to Communist countries unless the President finds and reports promptly to Congress that (1) such assistance is vital to U.S. security; (2) the recipient country is not controlled by the international Communist conspiracy; and (3) such assistance will promote the independence of the recipient country from Communism (22 U.S.C. § 2370(f));

- no assistance to countries engaging in or preparing for aggressive military efforts directed against the U.S. or FMS recipient nations, unless the President determines that military efforts or preparations have ceased and he reports to Congress that he has received satisfactory assurances they will not be renewed. (No other FAA waiver provisions may be used.) (22 U.S.C. § 2370(i);

- no assistance to countries that grant sanctuary to international terrorists; unless the President determines the national security justifies such assistance and reports his finding to the Speaker of the House and the Senate Committee on Foriegn Relations (22 U.S.C. §§ 2371, (FAA), 2753(f)(AECA); and

- no assistance to countries who have severed diplomatic relations with the U.S., or with whom the U.S. has

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severed diplomatic relations, unless diplomatic relations are resumed and agreements for assistance are entered into after the resumption of diplomatic relations (22 U.S.C. § 2370(t)).

4 JAN 86

DEPOSITION
EXHIBIT
GC-6
(P.b.) 6/9/87

ROUTING

To	Name and Address	Date	Initials
1	The President		
2	John M. Poindexter		
3	Oliver L. North		
4			
5			
6			

☒ ACTION	FILE
APPROVAL	INFORMATION
COMMENT	PREPARE REPLY
CONCURRENCE	RECOMMENDATION
DIRECT REPLY	RETURN
DISPATCH	SIGNATURE

REMARKS

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N 9545

NSC/ICS CONTROL NO 40011

COPY NO 1 OF [illegible]

HANDLE VIA SYSTEM IV CHANNEL ONLY

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NSC INTELLIGENCE DOCUMENT

Partially Declassified/Released on 11 FEB 88
under provisions of E.O. 12356
by K. Johnson, National Security Council

5190

Warning Notice
Intelligence Sources and Methods Involved
NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION
Unauthorized Disclosure Subject to Criminal Sanctions

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NOV 1986

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

SYSTEM IV
NSC/ICS-40010

January 4, 1986

N 9546

TOP SECRET

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN M. POINDEXTER

FROM: OLIVER L. NORTH

SUBJECT: Covert Action Finding on Iran

Attached at Tab I is a memorandum from you to the President forwarding a Covert Action Finding (Tab A). This Finding is based on our discussions with Nir and my subsequent meeting with CIA General Counsel Stanley Sporkin.

At Sporkin's request, I talked to Bill Casey on secure re the Finding and the overall approach. He indicated that he thought the Finding was good and that this is probably the only approach that will work. He shares our goal of achieving a more moderate government in Iran through this process.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you sign the memorandum to the President at Tab I.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachments
- Tab I - Poindexter Memo to the President
  - Tab A - Covert Action Finding

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N 9547

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N 9548

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TOP SECRET [redacted]

Finding Pursuant to Section 662 of The Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 As Amended, Concerning Operations Undertaken by the Central Intelligence Agency in Foreign Countries, Other Than Those Intended Solely for the Purpose of Intelligence Collection

N 9549

I hereby find that the following operation in a foreign country (including all support necessary to such operation) is important to the national security of the United States, and due to its extreme sensitivity and security risks, I determine it is essential to limit prior notice, and direct the Director of Central Intelligence to refrain from reporting this Finding to the Congress as provided in Section 501 of the National Security Act of 1947, as amended, until I otherwise direct.

SCOPE	DESCRIPTION
Iran	Assist selected friendly foreign liaison services and third countries, which have established relationships with Iranian elements, groups, and individuals sympathetic to U.S. Government interests and which do not conduct or support terrorist actions directed against U.S. persons, property or interests, for the purpose of: (1) establishing a more moderate government in Iran, (2) obtaining from them significant intelligence not otherwise obtainable, to determine the current Iranian Government's intentions with respect to its neighbors and with respect to terrorist acts, and (3) furthering the release of the American hostages held in Beirut and preventing additional terrorist acts by these groups. Provide funds, intelligence, counter-intelligence, training, guidance and communications and other necessary assistance to these elements, groups, individuals, liaison services and third countries in support of these activities. The USG will act to facilitate efforts by third parties and third countries to establish contact with moderate elements within and outside the Government of Iran by providing these elements with arms, equipment and related materiel in order to enhance the credibility of these elements in their effort to achieve a more pro-U.S. government in Iran by demonstrating their ability to obtain requisite resources to defend their country against Iraq and intervention by the Soviet Union. This support will be discontinued if the U.S. Government learns that these elements have abandoned their goals of moderating their government and appropriated the materiel for purposes other than that provided by this Finding.

Partially Declassified/Released on 11 Feb 88
under provisions of E.O. 12356
by K. Johnson, National Security Council

The White House
Washington, D.C.
Date: 6 January 1986

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UNCLASSIFIED SECRET

N 9550

Finding Pursuant to Section 662 of The Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 As Amended, Concerning Operations Undertaken by the Central Intelligence Agency in Foreign Countries, Other Than Those Intended Solely for the Purpose of Intelligence Collection

I hereby find that the following operation in a foreign country (including all support necessary to such operation) is important to the national security of the United States, and due to its extreme sensitivity and security risks, I determine it is essential to limit prior notice, and direct the Director of Central Intelligence to refrain from reporting this Finding to the Congress as provided in Section 501 of the National Security Act of 1947, as amended, until I otherwise direct.

SCOPE	DESCRIPTION
Iran	Assist selected friendly foreign liaison services and third countries, which have established relationships with Iranian elements, groups, and individuals sympathetic to U.S. Government interests and which do not conduct or support terrorist actions directed against U.S. persons, property or interests, for the purpose of: (1) establishing a more moderate government in Iran, (2) obtaining from them significant intelligence not otherwise obtainable, to determine the current Iranian Government's intentions with respect to its neighbors and with respect to terrorist acts, and (3) furthering the release of the American hostages held in Beirut and preventing additional terrorist acts by these groups. Provide funds, intelligence, counterintelligence, training, guidance and communications and other necessary assistance to these elements, groups, individuals, liaison services and third countries in support of these activities. The USG will act to facilitate efforts by third parties and third countries to establish contact with moderate elements within and outside the Government of Iran by providing these elements with arms, equipment and related materiel in order to enhance the credibility of these elements in their effort to achieve a more pro-U.S. government in Iran by demonstrating their ability to obtain requisite resources to defend their country against Iraq and intervention by the Soviet Union. This support will be discontinued if the U.S. Government learns that these elements have abandoned their goals of moderating their government and appropriated the materiel for purposes other than that provided by this Finding.

Partially Declassified/Released on 11FEB88
under provisions of E.O. 12356
by K. Johnson, National Security Council

The White House
Washington, D.C.
Date: 6 January 1986

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OGCR TS 0801-86
copy [illegible]

Ronald Reagan

COPY NO. 1 OF 2 COPIES HSRS - 94 /87

UNCLASSIFIED COMMUNICATIONS OFFICER, HEADQUARTERS, CIA

DEPOSITION OF [redacted]

Wednesday, July 15, 1987

United States Senate
Select Committee on Secret
Military Assistance to Iran
and the Nicaraguan Opposition
Washington, D. C.

Deposition of [redacted] called as a witness by counsel for the Select Committee, at the offices of the Select Committee, Room SH-901, Hart Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C., commencing at 3:39 p.m., the witness having been duly sworn by MICHAL ANN SCHAFER, a Notary Public in and for the District of Columbia, and the testimony being taken down by Stenomask by MICHAL ANN SCHAFER and transcribed under her direction.

4246

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APPEARANCES:

On behalf of the Senate Select Committee on Secret Military Assistance to Iran and the Nicaraguan Opposition:

TIMOTHY WOODCOCK, ESQ.

Counsel

THOMAS POLGAR

Investigator

On behalf of the Central Intelligence Agency:

DAVID PEARLINE, ESQ.

Office of Congressional Affairs

P

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CONTENTS

WITNESS	EXAMINATION ON BEHALF OF SENATE	HOUSE
[redacted]		
By Mr. Woodcock	4	

EXHIBITS

[redacted] EXHIBIT NUMBER	FOR IDENTIFICATION
1	26

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PROCEEDINGS

Whereupon,

[redacted]

called as a witness by counsel on behalf of the Senate Select Committee and having been duly sworn by the Notary Public, was examined and testified as follows:

EXAMINATION

BY MR. WOODCOCK:

Q [redacted] could we begin by having you state your name for the record and spell your last name, please?

A [redacted]

Q [redacted] let me put on the record who I am. I'm Timothy Woodcock. I'm an Associate Counsel on the Senate Select Committee on Secret Military Assistance to Iran and the Nicaraguan Opposition. With me is Tom Polgar, who is an investigator with the Committee.

The deposition is being taken under the authority of the Committee, which was created under Senate Resolution, and therefore this deposition is part of the official inquiry of this Committee.

Now before we get to the particular subject matter that we wish to explore with you today I would like to ask you, if you would, to briefly summarize your professional career.

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[redacted] we are responsible for the distribution and dissemination of the cable traffic for CIA headquarters.

Q How long have you been in that latter position?

A Since May of 1987.

Q And what was your position before that?

A Chief of Operations for the message and data communications activity.

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Q What were your duties in that capacity?

A I had full operational responsibility for both the communications and message processing for dissemination and distribution for the CIA headquarters area.

[redacted]

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Pages 7 - 31

DENIED IN TOTAL

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[redacted]

MR. POLGAR: I realize we are just speculating on this. Now I have another question. With your long experience in handling cables I would like you to comment on the following. We have the following cite numbers in sequence from [redacted] and so forth. And all of them have been located except one.

What kind of explanation would occur to you, based on your experience and giving your imagination a wide range?

THE WITNESS: That would be very difficult to answer because I don't know what all could have happened.

MR. POLGAR: Hypothetically what could have happened?

THE WITNESS: For a routine Immediate?

MR. POLGAR: Flash.

THE WITNESS: A Flash message. I would think from my experience and knowledge of how the systems work, had a Flash been sent the system, if it had a problem, would not have acknowledged for that Flash, which is done automatically. If the distant end did not receive an acknowledgement of our receipt of that particular message, then they would have resent it or they didn't follow procedures, or we didn't follow procedures if there was a message that was sent and non-delivered.

MR. POLGAR: In your recent experience -- let's say the last five years -- have you had much experience with missing cables?

THE WITNESS: Only during those periods of time when we had a severe system problem.

MR. POLGAR: When you have a large number of cables -- in this particular period some 69 -- all coming in on schedule and one is missing, that suggests there was no system problem, doesn't it?

THE WITNESS: I do not recall any system problem in the November 85 time frame.

MR. POLGAR: Have you had any recent experience with cables missing coming in from [redacted]

THE WITNESS: Since I do not deal on a day-to-day basis with the actual receipt of cable traffic, I would be unable to answer that without checking further with the appropriate officers who do deal in that situation from day to day.

MR. POLGAR: I accept your point. Let me rephrase it. At your level have you participated in any discussions in headquarters where the topic was the problem of missing cables?

THE WITNESS: Yes, I have.

MR. POLGAR: I'm not referring to this particular instance. I'm referring to a problem that exists.

THE WITNESS: I have talked with other divisions over the past three years concerning missing messages.

MR. POLGAR: And how were those problems resolved?

THE WITNESS: The problem came up in a timely manner where we could research the various logs, the logs for our switches and the processing through the various systems, and we were able to provide information to the particular offices that the messages in question at that time were received and properly handled through our systems.

MR. POLGAR: So in fact they were not missing?

THE WITNESS: For those particular messages in question at that time, they were not.

MR. POLGAR: Are you making a distinction between a message which is lost in the system or simply mislaid after receipt?

THE WITNESS: Yes.

MR. POLGAR: What you are talking about is messages that would seem to have been mislaid or improperly processed upon receipt?

THE WITNESS: Well, the instance which I am referring to was for another DO division where they felt that their traffic was not being delivered. They brought it to our attention. We researched the problem and found that the problem was within their own registry and not within the communications and message processing area.

MR. POLGAR: In that particular case the system could account for the messages?

THE WITNESS: Yes.

MR. POLGAR: Have you had any experience in recent years where the system could not account for a message?

THE WITNESS: We have had system problems where a message would be received and would not be output. Those we have had. They have been few and far between, but we have had them. But that was when we have had system problems. We know we're having problems and they are severe and we are out checking for everything that we can find to see what is missing.

On a normal day, processing without known problems, we receive, we deliver. I'm not saying there isn't some times that a message could go astray without our knowledge. Normally people will bring it to our attention if there is something missing.

MR. POLGAR: Let me put it yet another way. I take it from what you have said -- and correct me if I am wrong -- that basically you are satisfied with the way the system works.

THE WITNESS: Yes.

MR. POLGAR: That there are sufficient safeguards in the system to assure continuing effective communications for which CIA has been known for many years?

THE WITNESS: Yes.

BY MR. WOODCOCK: (Resuming)

Q And that was your opinion as of November 1985; is that correct?

A November '85.

Q And your having gone back and researched the area surrounding November of '85 has not changed your opinion that it was satisfactory as of that time, that your system was satisfactory as of that time?

A It is my opinion that the system was satisfactory. It was processing as required during the November 1985 time frame.

MR. POLGAR: I have no further questions.

MR. WOODCOCK: [redacted] thank you for coming and being deposed by us. We appreciate your patience and time.

THE WITNESS: Thank you.

(Whereupon, at 4:35 p.m., the taking of the instant deposition ceased.)

____

Signature of the Witness

Subscribed and Sworn to before me this _______ day of ______________________, 1987.

____

Notary Public

My Commission Expires: ______________________________

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C/EUR
INCOMING

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85 9084924 ASZ PAGE 001
TOR 22[redacted] NOV 85 IN 9084924
[redacted]

~~SECRET~~ 22[redacted] NOV 85 STAFF

CITE [redacted]

TO: FLASH DIRECTOR.

[redacted]

REF: DIRECTOR 625103 — MISSING

SUBJECT: NSC INSTRUCTIONS

1. PER REF CONTACTED RICHARD COPP AT 0450 HOURS 22 NOVEMBER. OFFERED ALL ASSISTANCE. COPP ADVISED HE THINKS "HE HAS EVERYTHING UNDER CONTROL BUT WILL KNOW BETTER BY 0945 TODAY." COPP ADVISED NO ACTION REQUIRED FROM [redacted] AT THIS TIME.

2. COPP HAS LOCAL PHONE NUMBERS OF [redacted] AND WILL RE-CONTACT IF NECESSARY.

3. NO FILE. DECL OADR HUM 4-82. ALL SECRET.

END OF MESSAGE

Communications Officer
Headquarters, CIA
Ex #1

3457

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Date 20 APR 87
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CIIN 2132

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art1

SELECT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE COVERT
ARMS TRANSACTIONS WITH IRAN
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
AND
SELECT COMMITTEE ON SECRET MILITARY ASSISTANCE
TO IRAN AND THE NICARAGUAN OPPOSITION
UNITED STATES SENATE

- - -

COPY NO. 1 OF 2 COPIES

Wednesday, June 10, 1987
Washington, D.C.

Deposition of DANIEL LYNN CONRAD, taken on behalf of the Select Committee above-cited, pursuant to notice, commencing at 10:20 a.m. in Room 901 of the Hart Senate Office Building, before Terry Barham, a Notary Public in and for the District of Columbia, when were present:

For the House Select Committee:

4240

THOMAS FRYMAN, Esq.
Staff Counsel

SPENCER OLIVER, Esq.
Associate Counsel

KEN BUCK, Esq.
Assistant Minority Counsel

Partially Declassified/Released on 1-13-88
under provisions of E.O. 12356
by N. Menan, National Security Council

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[illegible] REPORTING CO., INC.
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For the Senate Select Committee:

THOMAS McGOUGH, Esq.
Associate Counsel

For the deponent:

ALEXIA MORRISON, Esq.
Swidler & Berlin
1000 Thomas Jefferson Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007

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PROCEEDINGS

Whereupon,

DANIEL LYNN CONRAD

was called as a witness and, having been first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

EXAMINATION BY COUNSEL FOR THE
HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Will you state your full name for the record, Mr. Conrad.

A Daniel Lynn Conrad.

Q Before we begin, let me just state for the record, that I have provided your counsel with a copy of an immunity order which has been issued by the U.S. District Court. That was issued after it was represented to us by your counsel that you would assert your Fifth Amendment rights in response to all questions that would be put to you by counsel for the House and Senate Committees at this deposition.

Let me just also state for the record, that your counsel has also been provided with a copy of the resolution establishing the House Committee, and a copy of the rules of the House Committee that's conducting this investigation.

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MR. FRYMAN: Is that correct, Ms. Morrison?

MS. MORRISON: That's correct.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Mr. Conrad, what is your current address?

A I have two.

Q Could I have both of them.

A [redacted]

Q What is your date of birth, Mr. Conrad?

A 8-5-43.

Q And your Social Security number?

A [redacted]

Q And would you describe your education for me, beginning with your college education. Well, do you have a college degree?

A Yes.

Q Okay.

A First, I went off to school. I remember that.

Q Starting with your undergraduate degree, where did you obtain your undergraduate degree?

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A Northwestern University.

Q And was that a BA?

A I think it is.

Q All right. And what year did you receive that?

A In 1965.

Q And what was the field?

A English and political science.

Q That's Northwestern University in Illinois?

A Evanston, Illinois.

Q Evanston, Illinois. And do you have any graduate education?

A I attended graduate studies at Northwestern University and also, the University of Michigan.

Q For what period of time?

A I am not sure. It was part time, and I don't remember, exactly. I mean, maybe a year, or two years. I'm not positive.

Q Were you working toward any particular graduate degree at Northwestern?

A I was doing graduate work in philosophy, and I can't recall whether I had registered for a degree, or not. And at the University of Michigan I was working on my MBA.

Q But you did not obtain an MBA, is that correct?

A I did not obtain an MBA, right.

Q Now by what organizations have you been employed since you graduated from college in 1965, beginning with the first?

A The Ford Motor Company.

Q And what period of time, and what were your positions?

A I don't have this readily at my fingertips, but it's--I can give you my positions more readily than I can give you the time.

Q All right. Give me the positions, and the approximate time. That would be satisfactory.

A I'm trying to recall what my title was. Management trainee, I guess, in the first instance. I don't know. I had some title, but I've forgotten what it is.

Q This was with Ford Motor Company?

A Yes.

Q And how long did that continue, approximately?

A Fourteen, 18 months. In that neighborhood.

Q Where did you work?

A Dearborn, Michigan, and then I transferred to

Chicago, and then my responsibilities changed and I was in the--I've forgotten, now, the name of the division, but Parts, Autolite. I don't think it was Autolite, but I can't remember the name of the division. Anyway, in sales. Tires and batteries, and things like that.

Q And did that employment begin in '65, after college?

A I graduated in December of '65, so the employment started in '66.

Q All right. And then what did you do after the Ford Motor Company employment?

A I was employed by Northwestern University in the Alumni Relations Department.

Q And for how long did you do that?

A I think a year; maybe a little longer.

Q And what did you do after that?

A And then I worked for Havey, H-a-v-e-y, Fundraising Management, Incorporated, in Madison, Wisconsin. No, I'm sorry. Milwaukee, Wisconsin. And I was a field director for campaigns.

Q How long did that continue?

A I'm not positive. A little less than a year.

Q And was that in the late 1960's?

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A Yes.

Q What were your responsibilities in that position?

A To run capital campaigns for nonprofit organizations.

Q What were the types of clients of Havey Fundraising Management? Can you give me some examples.

A Hospitals, Campfire Girls, youth organizations, and that sort of thing.

Q Was that your first employment in the fundraising area?

A No. Northwestern University.

Q In the alumni office?

A Yes.

Q And then, what did you do after Havey Fundraising Management?

A I became a stockbroker.

Q Where was that?

A In San Francisco.

Q What company?

A Edelstein, Campbell & Company.

Q Were you in sales?

A Yeah. I was a registered stockbroker.

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Q And how long did that continue?

A Two years.

Q Now, are we up to the early 1970's now?

A Yes.

Q All right. What did you do after working for the Edelstein firm?

A I started my own firm which was called the Institute for Fundraising, which was a "dba". Sole proprietorship.

Q D-b-a stands for what?

A Doing business as. Fictitious name, business statement. I don't know what it's referred to here.

Q And how long did you continue with this organization?

A Seven, eight years, I guess. I'm not sure of the number of years, but, in that neighborhood.

Q What was the business of the Institute for Fundraising?

A It presented seminars on the subject of fundraising for nonprofit organizations. It also published manuals and produced cassette tape recordings, and provided my services to clients for fundraising consultation, for public speaking, for special projects.

Q What was the general method of compensation for you with this business? Did you charge by the hour, or did you charge a percentage, or--

A No, no, no. Charged by--usually by day.

Q And where was the institute based? In what city?

A San Francisco.

Q From San Francisco?

A Yes.

Q And you say you started as a sole proprietorship?

A Yes.

Q Did you have any employees?

A Yes.

Q How many employees?

A When I started out I was--just me and my table.

Q Right. And seven or eight years later, how many employees did you have? More than ten?

A I'm not positive. The reason I'm not positive is because I don't remember, exactly, when I incorporated, and how many people I had with me at the incorporation point. But that's your question and I just don't remember.

Q Until the point where you incorporated, did this business continue as a sole proprietorship?

A Yes.

Q You didn't have any partners in the business?

A No.

Q And at some point you incorporated. When that occurred, were you the sole shareholder?

A Yes.

Q And did you operate under the same name after you incorporated?

A No.

Q What was the name, after you incorporated?

A Public Management Institute.

Q Was the business basically the same?

A Well, yes, I suppose.

Q Well, were there any ways in which it differed, apart from the business structure? Did you expand your services after you incorporated?

A Yes.

Q In what way?

A We expanded from fundraising as our focus to management of nonprofit organizations. Management accounting, fundraising, just grantsmanship, all manner of things having to do with the management of nonprofit organizations, and also public agencies. That was the reason for the incorporation.

Q And the incorporation and the change of name to Public Management Institute, am I correct in understanding that was some time in the late 1970's?

A Yes.

Q And you continued to be based in San Francisco?

A Yes.

Q And is that organization still in operation?

A Yes.

Q And do you continue to be a shareholder?

A Yes.

Q Are there any other shareholders?

A No.

Q Now, has the business of Public Management Institute remained the same, or have your services expanded over the eight or ten years of its existence?

A It's changed over the years.

Q What new types of services have you offered, or what additional types of services?

A Well, we've become primarily a publishing firm.

Q What types of publications?

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A Grant research from corporations, particularly.

Q Would you explain what that means.

A Corporations give away in excess of $3 billion a year to nonprofit organizations, and we publish the most authoritative text in the field on what corporations give how much, to whom, what their interests are, and that sort of thing.

Q So you compile the material that's in this publication?

A Through interviews, and public records, and so on.

Q And your organization both compiles and writes the material, and publishes it, is that correct?

A Yes.

Q And is this a reference source, or a reference book that would be found in libraries, and other organizations?

A Yes.

Q What do you publish, other than this reference book?

A A variety of--I don't know. I think there's between 30 and 50 publications that we--and we also distribute other people's products.

Q These 30 to 50 publications, do they come out on a periodic basis?

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A Some.

Q Like yearly, or monthly?

A Some.

Q Some are yearly?

A Some are yearly.

Q Are some monthly?

A Some are monthly.

Q Would you give me some examples of some of the other publications.

A The Capital Campaign Resource Guide which is a directory of funders, of foundations and corporations who make grants for capital campaigns to nonprofit organizations. It also includes in it a directory of consultants to nonprofit organizations on the subject of capital campaigns.

It includes some other divisions. It's five directories in one. And we publish a newsletter on a monthly basis called the "Corporate Philanthropy Report", which deals with corporate philanthropy.

We publish computer software for nonprofits, which is an annual directory. We publish an annual directory called "Grants for Computers", and that's foundations and corporations who give grants for computer equipment and services, and things.

Q Now the publications that you have so far described, are they written or compiled by your employees?

A Yes.

Q And you mentioned that you also distributed other publications, I believe?

A Yes.

Q What types of other publications?

A Well, anything to do with, oh, general office procedures, and interests on the part of nonprofit organizations. How to create mailing labels in your office. Things like that.

Q And do you have a catalogue of publications that's available through your organization?

A Yes.

Q Now you say that your organization is now primarily engaged in publishing or distributing publications?

A Yes.

Q Are there any other activities of the organization at this point?

A It does research on a contract basis, and it does public speaking, provides me as a public speaker, or other people as public speakers at conventions and conferences, and seminars, and that sort of thing. We--I don't know--we consult with nonprofit organizations on fundraising, as needed, as requested.

Q And the organization is still based in San Francisco?

A Yes.

Q Do you have offices in other cities?

A No.

Q And you are still the sole shareholder, I believe you said?

A Yes.

Q In 1986, what was the approximately gross income of the organization? Well, let me phrase it another way: what were the total revenues of the organization?

A I understand your question. I'm not sure I can answer it.

MS. MORRISON: If you don't recall, you don't recall.

THE WITNESS: I just don't remember.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Were the revenues in excess of $1 million?

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A Possibly.

Q In excess of $5 million?

A No.

Q All right. The total number of employees of the organization in 1986, did that number exceed twenty-five?

A No.

Q Was it more than ten?

A Maybe. I don't know.

Q All right. Are the financial records of your organization kept on a calendar-year basis or a fiscal-year basis?

A I think on a calendar-year basis.

Q Now do you draw a salary from the organization, or, do you just take profits as a shareholder?

A Well, it's not clear. I mean, it's not a straightforward thing.

Q Well, how were you compensated in 1986 from this company that you've described?

A They paid some of my expenses, and I think they also gave me some cash, but I don't remember how much.

Q Well, did you make the decision as to how much cash you wanted?

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A Sometimes. I mean, it wasn't a decision. I would make a request.

Q Well, in your answer you said "they sometimes gave me cash" and I wondered who you were referring to by "they

A The company.

Q The cash was given to you in response to a request from you for a cash distribution of some sort, is that correct?

A Yes.

Q In 1986, what was your approximate compensation from this company?

MS. MORRISON: I think he already said he doesn't recall, specifically.

THE WITNESS: Yeah. I don't recall, specifically.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Well, was it in excess of $100,000?

A No.

Q In excess of $50,000?

A I'm not sure.

Q Is this organization sometimes known as PMI?

A Yes.

Q Does PMI have a board of directors?

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A Yes.

Q Who's on the board?

A Kenneth Gilman, and myself.

Q Just two of you?

A Yes.

Q And it's a California corporation?

A Yes.

Q Is Mr. Gilman also an employee of the organization?

A Yes.

Q But he owns no shares of the organization?

A That's correct.

Q What are his responsibilities with the organization, other than being a board member?

A He's the president.

MR. FRYMAN: Bear with me a moment.

[Pause.]

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Did PMI at one point have a Seattle office?

A No.

Q Did you have an employee in Seattle?

A Yes.

Q Who was that?

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A Well, I mean, I'm not sure how you define "employee". I mean, I think he would say he was not an employee.

Q Who's the individual you're referring to?

A His name is Craig Smith.

Q What did you understand his role was in PMI?

A He continues to be the editor of the "corporate philanthropy report."

Q And he is based in Seattle?

A Yes.

Q And is that his sole role with the organization?

A Yes.

Q Now, Mr. Conrad, I take it you know an individual named Carl Channell?

A Yes.

Q When did you first meet Mr. Channell

A I'm not sure of the year. '78 maybe. '79.

Q What were the circumstances of your first meeting with him?

A I was teaching a seminar on fundraising.

Q Do you recall where?

A At the Old Colony Motor Inn in Alexandria.

Q And was this sponsored by some particular organiza-

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tion?

A Public Management Institute.

Q And did he pay a fee to attend this seminar?

A Yes.

Q And the approximate year, again, was--

A '78 or '79.

Q What was he doing, otherwise, then, if you know?

A He was the national finance chairman of the National Conservative Political Action Committee, NCPAC.

Q How many people were attending this seminar, approximately?

A Thirty to fifty.

Q And you had some conversations with Mr. Channell in the course of this seminar?

A Yes.

Q Now after the seminar, what was the next occasion that you had any contact with Mr. Channell?

A I don't remember.

Q When did you first establish any sort of business or professional relationship with Mr. Channell, other than his attendance at your seminar that you described?

A It just evolved right after the first meeting.

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Q What did he ask you to do?

A He just would call me and ask me for advice.

Q Would he pay you for this advice?

A Not in the beginning.

Q What did he ask you for advice on?

A Fundraising for his political cause.

Q And this was while he was at NCPAC?

A Yes.

Q NCPAC stands for the--

A The National Conservative Political Action Committee.

Q And NCPAC is spelled N-C-P-A-C. Now there came a point when Mr. Channell established his own fundraising organization, did there not?

A Yes.

Q And that initially was the American Conservative Trust?

A I don't know exactly which one was first. I wasn't present.

Q Well, you're aware that he established an organization called the American Conservative Trust?

A Yes.

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Q And another organization called the National Endowment for the Preservation of Liberty?

A Yes.

Q And those are also known by their initials, ACT, and NEPL, are they not?

A Yes.

Q And he also established another organization called Sentinel?

A Yes.

Q And a further organization called the Anti-Terrorism American Committee, is that correct?

A Yes.

Q And the last organization is also known as ATAC, A-T-A-C?

A I pronounce it different, but, yes.

Q All right. Now, after Mr. Channell established one or more of these organizations that we have described, did he also contact you about performing services for one or more of these organizations?

A Yes.

Q Do you recall when that contact first occurred?

A Well, I can't--it wasn't first, there wasn't--I

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mean, there probably was a first but I don't remember what the first was.

Q Well, do you remember the circumstances of his first calling you about working for one of his own organizations?

A Well, if you said one of the organizations that we've already mentioned--

Q Yes.

A --and I would say in--I'm not sure--January or February of 1985. He asked me to come to Washington to help him organize a fundraising dinner that he was involved with.

Q What was this dinner?

A The Nicaraguan Refugee Fund dinner. NRF.

Q And that was your first association with any of these particular Channell organizations that I have described just a moment ago?

A What do you mean by "association"?

Q Well, your first engagement by Mr. Channell to work in any capacity for any of these organizations?

A Yes.

Q Now, are you aware of any other organization that Mr. Channell established, or was associated with, after he left NCPAC?

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A Yes.

Q Other than the organizations that I've described?

A Yes.

Q What organization, or organizations were those?

A Channell Corporation.

Q Anything else?

A Before I go here?

Q Yes.

A No, not that I know of.

Q Now prior to the dinner that you've just referred to, had Mr. Channell engaged you in any capacity with respect to the activities of Channell Corporation?

A Yes.

Q And what was the nature of those activities?

A He asked me to consult with him about how he should build his consulting business.

Q How were you compensated for that?

A On a daily basis.

Q And what period of time was that?

A A week.

Q What year?

A '83, I think, or maybe '82. I'm not sure of the

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year. I think '83.

Q And you spent a total of a week's time on that?

A Yes.

Q How much were you paid for that?

A A thousand, $1500 a day. I've forgotten.

Q Did you provide any written material to Mr. Channell as a result of this consultation?

A Yes.

Q What was the nature of the written material?

A A report. Recommendations.

Q Was this report under 50 pages?

A Yes.

Q Under 25?

A Yes.

Q Under 10?

A Yes.

Q Under 5?

A Yes.

Q What was the substance of your recommendations?

MS. MORRISON: This seems, to me, getting a little far afield. What he consulted with Channell Corporation on in '82 and '83 seems to me to be well beyond what we're about here, as do the compensation questions, frankly, although I've let you go with that because I thought it might come to an end quickly, but it doesn't seem to be.

MR. FRYMAN: Let's go off the record a second.

[Discussion off the record.]

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Other than the consulting for a week with respect to Channell Corporation that you've described, did you have any other association, professional association with Mr. Channell before he contacted you about the dinner in early 1985?

A I don't know how to answer that question.

Q Well, did he pay you any money for any services?

A No; no.

Q Okay. And then he contacted you in early 1985 about assisting him on the refugee fund dinner?

A Yes.

Q And this was for which of his organizations?

A The National Endowment for the Preservation of Liberty.

Q What did he ask you to do?

A He asked me to come to Washington to make sure that

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the dinner came off as it was scheduled to do. In other words, happened properly.

Q And how much time did you spend on this?

A Oh, full time.

Q For how long?

A 45 days, approximately.

Q And were you paid at a similar daily rate to your earlier consulting services?

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A No. I wasn't.

Q How were you paid?

A It wasn't a fixed thing. They just gave me money, occasionally.

Q Well, what was your total compensation for this work for the fund dinner?

A I think he paid me about $10,000, maybe fifteen. I'm not positive.

Q And did anyone else pay you anything for this dinner?

A Yes.

Q Who was that?

A The Nicaraguan Refugee Fund.

Q And what did they pay you?

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A Ten thousand dollars.

Q And anyone else?

A Yes. Miner and Fra~~z~~sier.

Q And what did they pay you?

A I can't recall, exactly. $1500.

Q Total?

A I think so.

Q And your responsibilities were generally to help organize the dinner?

A In general, yes. Fundraising, consulting, and, you know, the overall structure of the thing, how it happened, and the details of putting it together as well as the overall structure.

Q Now, after the dinner, did you have further professional association with Mr. Channell?

A Yes.

Q What was the next activity?

A I don't know how to answer that. He just asked me to stay on, and--

Q Did you become an employee of one of his organizations?

A Well, I was still officially a consultant.

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Q Well, how were you compensated? Did he retain PMI to assist his organization, or did he retain you, individually, or, what was the nature of the relationship?

A Well, he didn't worry about that. I mean, it was up to me how I wanted it done, and, in the beginning, it was me, personally, but it changed to hiring PMI for my services.

Q Well, what was the period of time that he retained you, personally?

A Well, I think it was September or October.

Q Of 1985?

A Right.

Q And that personal retention began after the refugee fund dinner?

A Yes.

Q So that would be in April, approximately?

A Yes.

Q Now, from April to September-October of 1985, were you basically a full-time employee of Mr. Channell and his organizations?

A Well, I was a full-time consultant.

Q What does that mean?

A Well, I don't know how else to say that.

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Q Well, did you work on any other matters, other than Mr. Channell's activities?

A No.

Q And you were paid by the day, or by the week, or what?

A Well, it kept changing all the time. He would basically decide how much to pay me, and he would just do that.

Q In this period between April and the fall of 1985, September or October, what was your approximately monthly compensation from Mr. Channell?

A I just don't recall. It kept changing over time and I just don't remember.

Q He just gave you whatever he wanted to give you?

A Basically.

Q And you didn't care?

A No. I was doing it out of friendship. I was helping him do his work, so whatever he wanted to pay me was fine with me. I wasn't charging him my normal rates.

Q And you were not charging any other clients during this period for consulting services?

A That's correct. No, that's not true. I'm sorry.

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I forget who the organization is. I don't remember the name of the organization, but maybe it was the Eastern Educational Network. But there are four divisions of the Corporation For Public Broadcasting, and I was hired by I think three of them. In this period of time I did consult with them, but I don't remember which one I was consulting with at the time. So I just did a little bit of other things; not much.

Q So your major activity during this period of time was work for Mr. Channell with some minor consulting activities for this Network, and possibly some other organizations?

A Yes.

Q And you were retained by him as an individual consultant?

A Yes.

Q And the compensation varied over this period of time?

A Yes.

Q Now that compensation arrangement changed in the fall of 1985, as I understand what you're saying?

A Yes.

Q How did it change?

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A Well, instead of the checks being made payable to me, they were being made payable to the Public Management Institute.

Q What was the reason for the change?

A Well, the more appropriate question I think is why the checks were ever made payable to me to begin with, which they shouldn't have been, and I think my accountant actually brought it to my attention. That it shouldn't be personal income to me. It should be income to the corporation, because 90 percent of all the money I had ever billed in my professional life has been billed from the company, not from me, personally.

Q Was there any formal agreement entered into between PMI and any of Mr. Channell's organizations?

A No. It was just an understanding.

Q How was the compensation fixed?

A Mr. Channell fixed it.

Q What was the amount?

A It varied over time. I mean, it kept fluctuating all the time.

Q Was there a basic monthly retainer?

A That's what kept fluctuating.

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Q So beginning in the fall of 1985, Mr. Channell's organizations paid a monthly amount to PMI for your services, but the monthly amount varied?

A Yes.

Q And you were then compensated by PMI?

A Yes.

Q After the fall of 1985, did you receive any direct compensation from Mr. Channell's organizations?

A Yes.

Q When did that begin?

A At the same time. At the same time.

Q At the same time being the fall of 1985 when the Channell organizations began to pay PMI?

A Yes.

Q So your compensation was then in two parts, is that correct? A direct salary check from one of Mr. Channell's organizations, and a payment to PMI for your consulting services?

A Yes.

Q Now what was your monthly salary beginning in the fall of 1985?

A I think it was $5000 a month.

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Q And the monthly payment to PMI varied?

A Yes. In the beginning it might have been less than five thousand. Maybe three or four. I can't remember, exactly.

Q And was the amount paid to PMI per month related to the nature of services provided during any particular month by you, or anyone else employed by PMI?

A Yes.

Q What was it tied to? The number of hours?

A No. It depended upon the amount of work that PMI did as well. PMI did research work.

Q So was the payment to PMI for services other than your own services?

A Yes.

Q So your own services were covered by the $5000 a month, or whatever the monthly salary was?

A Yes. Right.

Q Did you fix the amount of the monthly invoice, or statement from PMI?

A No.

Q Who did that?

A Spitz.

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Q So he paid PMI whatever he wanted to pay them?

A Yes.

Q So he retained PMI to perform certain services?

A Yes.

Q And then, at the end of the month, he would say "I will pay you "x" amount for those services"?

A It was very loose.

Q And what were the nature of the services that PMI for Mr. Channell's organizations from the fall of 1985 through 1986?

A Research on corporations and foundations who would make grants, who would be prospects for making grants for various projects.

Q Was this research performed by any particular employee of PMI?

A I don't know. I mean, they handled it, you know, with their research staff.

Q All right. Were there any time records maintained of how much time was spent on this research?

A I have no idea.

Q Well, you're the sole shareholder of PMI. I mean, do you have any idea of whether time records are generally maintained within the organization for this type of consulting service?

A I think they are, but I'm not positive. I'm not involved in the day-to-day management of the organization.

Q But the amount of compensation to PMI for these services was not related to the amount of time spent on the services, is that correct?

A That's correct. Yes.

Q That was fixed, arbitrarily, by Mr. Channell?

A Yes.

Q Did he fix that in consultation with you?

A Not that I recall. Well I mean, what's consultation? I mean, he just said--you know--"I'm going to pay you so much". We wouldn't have the conversation every month, or anything like that. He just would say "I'm going to give you more money", or "less money", or whatever.

Q Discussion of the amount for these services would always be initiated by Mr. Channell, is that correct?

A 99 percent of the time. Sure.

Q Now what was your title with Mr. Channell's organization, or organizations?

A When?

Q After you became an employee in the fall of 1985, and, if it changed, give me the different titles.

A Well, I was nothing fora longtime, so--I don't know how else to say that, and--

Q Well, we'll start with nothing and then, moving on.

A I mean, sort of gradually, from there, I became chiefly, I suppose you would say, executive director.

Q Of what?

A Everything.

Q This is--

A All the organizations. Every single one of them.

Q And is this also true of Channell Corporation?

A Well, no, we didn't do anything, really, there.

Q But you were executive director of NEPL?

A I was not executive--well, I don't know if I was executive director. This wasn't really official-official, I mean, so I--you know--when there was something to be handled, administratively, they came to me, and my title was executive director.

Q Did you consider yourself--

A Actually, now that I think about it, I think I was executive director of Channell Corporation.

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Q Did you consider yourself the number two person in Mr. Channell's organizations?

A Yes.

Q You were his chief assistant or--

A Administrator, or whatever you want to say.

Q Administrator?

A Yes. Sure.

Q Now, when you commenced your work there in the beginning of 1985, in connection with the work for the refugee fund dinner, where were Mr. Channell's offices?

A 305 Fourth Street, Northeast, Washington.

Q And those offices moved at some point?

A August of '86.

Q And they moved to Pennsylvania Avenue?

A Yes.

Q What was the address there?

A 1331 Pennsylvania Avenue, Northwest, Suite 350 South.

Q All right. Now, when you began, how many employees did Mr. Channell have?

A Four and a half, I guess.

Q Who were they?

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A Including him is five, I guess. Angela Davis.

Q She was his secretary?

A Yes. Roger Wilkins.

Q What was his position?

A Secretary. Cliff Smith.

Q And his position?

A Fund raiser. And Steve McMahon who was a consultant, a CPA consultant. He's the half.

Q Okay.

A Is that four? Five?

Q And then from the beginning of 1985 through 1986, were additional fund raisers added?

A Yes.

Q Who were they? Was Kris Littledale one?

A Yes. Krishna S. Littledale. Jane McLaughlin. Liam Flannery. John Lutz. And--why can't I remember these names? I'm blanking at the moment.

Q There was at least one other, you believe?

A Yes. I just can't remember his name.

Q Did the fund raisers report to you?

A Oh, the last one was Fred Fried. F-r-i-e-d. Did they report to me?

Q Yes.

A Partly, they'd report to me, and they'd report to Spitz. Both. It's a small organization.

Q What were the responsibilities of a fund raiser? What did the fund raisers do?

A At the risk of sounding impertinent, they raised money.

Q How?

A Well, they would be given prospects to call, and they would be told what to say to them--the general line of approach--if you would call it that--and they would be trained in the techniques of dealing with people on the phone, and in person. And they would write letters to them, and they would request funds for various projects.

Q Now who would develop the general line for the fund raisers, and who would train them in fundraising techniques?

A Well, that's two questions.

Q Yes.

A The first question is Spitz would decide the line, and in the second case, the training would be both by Spitz and me.

Q Now you said Cliff Smith was a fund raiser?

A Yes.

Q Did he have any responsibilities, other than being a fund raiser?

A Yes.

Q What were those?

A He was I think treasurer of the American Conservative Trust.

Q What did that involve?

A Oh, he had to handle all the filings with the Federal Election Commission, oversee the recordkeeping of the books and records of the organization, financial accounting and that sort of thing.

Q Did he have any responsibilities other than that?

A He may have. I can't recall. He was primarily a fund raiser.

Q Now you said Steve McMahon was a CPA who was also a consultant, or employed on a part-time basis?

A Yes.

Q And were there other accounting employees who reported to him?

A Not at the beginning. Later there were, yes.

Q Later, was one of those employees, Phil Meo?

A Yes.

Q And another one, Becky Pritchett?

A Yes.

Q Now, were additional services performed by Eric Olson?

A Yes.

Q What did he do?

A Well, he consulted with us on our computer system, and computer purchases, and management, in general.

Q Did he report to you?

A No. He reported to Spitz.

Q Do you know how much he was paid?

A I'm not sure.

Q Now is he also employed by another professional organization?

A Yes.

Q Is he an accountant?

A I don't think he is.

Q Or a management consultant?

A I'm not sure, exactly, what his title is. I think it's management consultant, but I'm not positive.

Q Was he retained to do this work for Mr. Channell's organizations individually, or as an employee of the other organization that he works for?

A I have no idea.

Q Is he also Mr. Channell's roommate?

A Yes.

Q Do you know how his compensation was established?

A I have no idea.

Q Now am I correct, that the day-to-day administrative activities of these organizations were under your direction?

A To a degree.

Q Would you explain that answer.

A Well, the way it should have worked was Spitz should have told me everything he wanted to have done, and then I would see that it got done, but he didn't operate that way. He would tell me sometimes. He would tell other people sometimes. Sometimes he would tell several people the same thing, producing mass chaos, which he delights in.

Q Did you have a practice of developing activity outlines, or "to-do" lists?

A Yes.

Q And you would update those on a periodic basis?

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A Yes.

Q And was that one of your principal management tools?

A Well, it was the way I kept track of the thousands of details that needed to be looked into.

Q To whom did you distribute those outlines?

A Usually only Spitz, but occasionally, other people, depending on the situation.

Q And you kept a file of the outlines that you had generated, is that correct?

A Yes.

MR. FRYMAN: Okay. I ask the reporter to mark as Conrad No. 1 a group of activity outlines which have been produced by counsel for Mr. Channell. These outlines will be in two volumes. Deposition Exhibit No. 1 for identification will be the first volume. The page numbers are identified by control numbers that had been stamped on the bottom of the outlines by counsel for Mr. Channell.

In the beginning of this exhibit, there is a list of the activity outline page numbers in both of the volumes that we will use. This first volume begins with page numbers 20143-51, and continues through an outline dated December 16, 1985 which is page numbers 20702-03.

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(The document above-referred to was marked Conrad Deposition Exhibit No. 1 for identification.)

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Mr. Conrad, would you look at Exhibit 1 for identification. I'm going to ask you a number of specific questions about these outlines, but without looking at every page, would you generally look through this volume and tell me if these are the types of activity outlines that you prepared on a periodic basis?

A Yes.

Q Okay. Now let me first direct your attention-

MR. FRYMAN: Let's go off the record a moment.

[Discussion off the record.]

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Mr. Conrad, I have referred to these documents that are included in Deposition Exhibit 1 for identification as activity outlines. Now was that the name you used, or, did you have another name for these papers?

A No. I called these my "to do" lists.

Q And were these basically for your own use?

A Yes.

Q And I believe you said you gave them to Mr. Channell?

A Yes, only for verification of the details. In other words, was I doing what I was supposed to be doing.

Q But it was your normal procedure to show any of these "to do" lists to Mr. Channell?

A Yes. Normally, I would.

Q Would he make notes on them, and return them to you?

A Yes.

Q Did you retain the copies with his notes?

A In most cases.

Q And was your general practice to update these on a periodic basis?

A Weekly.

Q On a weekly basis?

A Yes.

Q And would a lot of the material be repeated in the next week's "to do" list?

A If it didn't get done.

Q If it didn't get done?

A Yes.

Q If it did[illegible] get done, it would be cut out?

A Yes.

Q And then if it didn't get done it would be carried over, and then you would add additional items that you would plan to accomplish in the following week?

A It only ever grew. Yes.

Q Now let me begin by the outline which is dated September 8, 1985, which begins on page 20143. There's a Roman one there that begins Greene, G-r-e-e-n-e. What does that refer to?

A Lt. Col. Oliver North.

Q What was the reason for referring to him as Greene?

A I was told to.

Q By whom?

A I think Rich Miller and Frank Gomez.

Q Did they give a reason for calling him Greene?

A They said that it was very easy to, for the Soviets and Cubans, and the Sandinistas, to find out what the movements of Colonel North were, and the contra leaders, and so they said we had to use code names for everyone.

Q Did Mr. Channell also tell you to call him Greene?

A Not that I recall.

Q Did you tell anyone else within the organization to refer to him as Greene?

A Oh, I may have. I don't recall, exactly.

Q You referred to Richard Miller and Frank Gomez. Who were they?

A They're the partners in a firm called International Business Communications.

Q And they were also consultants to NEPL, were they not?

A Yes.

Q Now under Roman I, Greene, entry capital "A" is headed "White House letters".

A Yes.

Q And then under that, there is item one, "To Barbara Newington from RR". What does that refer to?

A We wanted to ask Oliver North to get a letter, a thank-you letter from Ronald Reagan addressed to and sent to Barbara Newington, who was a contributor.

Q And what was the reason for wanting that letter?

A Fundraising authority, I suppose you'd say. In

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fundraising you need--oh, you might call it an endorsement letter, authorization letter. I don't know. It has a lot of different terms.

Q Had Barbara Newington--

A Acknowledgement letter, sometimes.

Q Had Barbara Newington by September 8, 1985, made a substantial contribution to NEPL?

A Not substantial enough.

Q Was this letter intended to obtain a more substantial contribution from her?

A Well, it's part of the process.

Q How is it part of the process?

A I'm talking about how you create relationships with contributors.

Q Right.

A You cultivate them, and this was one tool in the cultivation process, and it's common in all organizations, although in this case it's the President of the United States.

Q So one tool in your cultivation process with contributors was to obtain letters from President Reagan?

A Yes.

Q And that was done through Colonel North?

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A Well, we requested it from him.

Q That was the channel to request such a letter, was to go to Colonel North?

A Well, we also requested it from many other people as well.

Q Who else did you request such a letter from?

A Rich Miller, Frank Gomez, John Roberts. Oh, lord. I mean, practically everybody we ran across, we would say, Can you get us a letter from the President?

Q And this particular "to-do" list refers to a contact that was to be made to Colonel North for a letter from President Reagan to Mrs. Newington?

A Yes.

Q All right. You mentioned a John Roberts. Who was John Roberts?

A He was on Pat Buchanan's staff at the White House.

Q What was his position?

A I don't know. Speechwriter, maybe. I'm not sure.

t3 Q Now, moving on down on this page 20143, Roman II refers to a Dallas trip, and under that, capital "A" is "Primary Group", and there's a list of six names. What does that item refer to?

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A Well, we wanted to see these people when we were down there. It was appointments to arrange.

Q Now item "E" under that refers to a convention, does it not?

A Yes.

Q What was that convention?

A The World Anti-Communist League, WACL, convention.

Q And under item "E" on page 20144, there are ten items listed, and that's surrounded by a parenthesis that says "15 packets", I believe. Is that correct?

A Yes. That's correct.

Q What does the "15 packets" refer to?

A How many packets to make up to take to Dallas; thus what should be in the packets.

Q To give to the people at the convention?

A No, no. At the--oh, yeah, I guess the way it is structured here. My thinking was that it had to do with the primary and secondary group because that is--maybe he wanted some extra ones--I can't remember, exactly--some extra ones to pass out at the convention.

Q But these were packets to be given to prospective contributors in Dallas, is that your understanding?

A Yes.

Q And the items listed there were to be included in the packets, is that correct?

A Yes.

Q And those items included a tax-exempt certificate?

A Yes.

Q What was that?

A I don't know what you--what's the official word for it from the Internal Revenue Service? No, the exempt letter. It tells you what your number is.

Q Is this a letter concerning a 501(c)(3) organization?

A Any nonprofit organization gets a certification of its tax-exempt status, whether it's a (c)(3), or (c)(4), or (c)(5), (c)(6)--whatever it is--and that letter--it's usually two pages--and that we had reproduced and put it in these packets.

Q Now was the purpose of that to indicate to the potential contributors that they could take a tax deduction for contributions?

A It was put in so that if they had any question on the tax deductibility it would be answered by that, so they could give it to their accountants, or whoever.

Q And the answer would be yes, they could take a deduction?

A Yes.

Q Now item five refers to "Maule airplane specs and brochures". What is that?

A It's a small airplane made by the Maule Aircraft Company, and we had a brochure.

Q What was the reason for including that in the packet?

A We would ask people to contribute enough money to buy one.

Q That was one of the purposes that you were raising funds for?

A Yes.

Q Who had told you that Maule airplanes were needed?

A Colonel North.

Q Had he told that to you?

A Yes.

Q Now item six is "Big plane specs". What does that refer to?

A He said two types of airplanes were needed. I can't remember the other brand, or model number, whatever it is, and so, it was other planes that the freedom fighters needed to be able to deliver humanitarian aid.

Q Now did item six, "Big plane specs", was this an additional type of plane that was to be purchased with funds from contributors?

A Yes.

Q And the Maule planes, and the big planes were to be used for delivering goods in Nicaragua, is that correct?

A It may be Honduras, too.

Q Honduras or Nicaragua?

A Yeah. Maybe other areas around there. You know, I didn't know, exactly.

Q Now you mentioned humanitarian aid. Were these planes also to be used for delivering military supplies?

A It was never discussed. We specifically discussed humanitarian aid.

Q And there's no specific discussion of other types of use of these planes?

A No. I mean, the purpose was to buy them to deliver the humanitarian aid.

Q Now, going back to the preceding page, 20143, under the Dallas trip there's a list of "A", "Primary Group", "B", Secondary Group", and then set forth, separately, as item "C" is Bunker Hunt. First of all, who is Bunker Hunt, and secondly, why was he set forth as a separate item in your "to do" list?

A Bunker Hunt is a billionaire and that's why he's separate.

Q He was the only billionaire on the list?

A Well, maybe Mrs. Schoellekopf is, too, but we didn't have as good a relationship with her as Mr. Hunt.

Q All right. And the plan was on the Dallas trip to make fundraising appeals to the individuals listed here?

A Yes.

Q Now on the second page, 20144, there's reference in Roman "III" to a September 19th White House meeting. What do the items under that refer to?

A Well, "Request RR to stop in" is a request for the President to stop by the meeting and say hello to everyone. Go by. A request for Robert McFarlane to stop in at the meeting, and make Hay-Adams reservations where we would go for dinner and cocktails.

Q Now were these steps taken?

A No.

Q Why not?

A Got postponed. I don't know. I guess. I don't remember, exactly.

Q But the meeting was not held on the 19th?

A No.

Q Turning to page three of your outline, Roman "VII" refers to Rich and Frank. Who is that?

A Richard Miller and Frank Gomez.

Q And item "A" is "Barbara Newington, 9-12 meeting at the White House"? Is that what "WH" stands for?

A Yes.

Q What does that refer to?

A Well, I'm not positive I can recall that. I can't remember. She went several times there. I don't remember which time this was.

Q Were there White House meetings requested for Mrs. Newington?

A Yes.

Q What was the reason for that?

A Again, part of the solicitation process, the cultivation process.

Q All right. Turning to page five of this outline, which is page 20147, there's a reference there to an October 18 White House meeting. What does that refer to?

A A briefing. A meeting that would be a briefing on the situation in Nicaragua, and it would be held at the White House.

Q And that was the meeting you were trying to set up for the 18th of October?

A Yes.

Q Did that go ahead?

A It wasn't on that date.

Q All right. It was postponed?

A Yeah. Wasn't the 18th? I thought it was the 19th. It was the 18th? 17th. Well, fine. Whatever. It was moved forward, changed, altered. Something.

Q Now what does item "A", "Draft letter to RR" refer to?

A I don't remember. I don't remember that.

Q All right. Item "B" is "Need special invitation and literature" What does that refer to?

A Our internal. We needed to develop an invitation that would be special, that would look special, and accompany-

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ing literature for us to send to our prospects to get them to come to the briefing.

Q And the items under that, on page six, are what would be included in that sort of package to the potential contributors?

A That's correct.

Q Okay. Let's turn to the next outline, Mr. Conrad.

A Could I ask something off the record?

MR. FRYMAN: Yes.

[Discussion off the record.]

MR. FRYMAN: Back on the record.

MR. FRYMAN: I would now ask the reporter to mark as Conrad Exhibit No. 2 for identification, a second volume of the activity outlines, or "to-do" lists, which is a continuation of Conrad Exhibit 1. The pages in Deposition Exhibit 2 for identification begin with page 20685, and continue through page 30002.

The pages in this volume are the pages that are listed on the first page in Exhibit No. 1, between those respective numbers.

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(The document above-referred to was marked Conrad Deposition Exhibit No. 2 for identification.)

MR. FRYMAN: Mr. Conrad, I'm going to have a number of additional questions relating to the activity outlines, or "to-do" lists which are in Deposition Exhibits 1 and 2 for identification. During the break, however, Mr. McGough and I discussed the approach to the questioning, and we had planned on dividing questioning with Mr. McGough covering an area later in the deposition.

During the break we discussed whether it wouldn't make more sense to go ahead at this point with his area of questioning since it covers events relating to an earlier point in time than are reflected in these outlines.

So, we will now, then, proceed with an area of questioning with Mr. McGough which I think will take about a half an hour, and then the plan will be to go through that, and then, when we finish that area, break for lunch, if that's all right.

MR. McGOUGH: Now Mr. Conrad, of course if you

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don't understand the question and want some clarification, just let me know.

EXAMINATION BY COUNSEL FOR THE
SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE

BY MR. McGOUGH:

Q I want to go back to the Nicaraguan refugee dinner, or the period during which that was being organized, and develop some of the threads of your and Mr. Channell's activities, or efforts on behalf of the Nicaraguan resistance, which we'll call the contras, if that's all right with you.

At the time that you were brought in, in early 1985, to work on the NRF dinner, was there any other aspect, or any other activity by Mr. Channell's organizations, to your knowledge, that was related to support of the contras, or involved with Nicaragua at all?

A You have to state the question again.

Q I want to try to get a snapshot of what you observed about Mr. Channell's targets, the policies toward which he was raising funds at the time you started working on the Nicaraguan Refugee Fund dinner. And what I want to know is when you began that work, was Mr. Channell, or were Mr. Channell or his organizations doing anything else in relation-

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ship to the Nicaraguan situation? Did they have any other programs at that time?

A I think he had an advertising program, or, there were some other things going on, but I can't recall, exactly. But this was the main activity.

Q The dinner was the main activity?

A Yes.

Q All right. When did you first come in contact with IBC, that is, Mr. Miller and Mr. Gomez?

A In early April of 1985.

MR. McGOUGH: Now let's have this marked as number 3.

(The document above-referred to was marked Conrad Deposition Exhibit No. 3 for identification.)

MR. McGOUGH: I'd like to have this marked as Exhibit 4.

(The document above-referred to was marked Conrad Deposition Exhibit No. 4 for identification.)

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BY MR. McGOUGH:

Q I now show you what have been marked as Exhibits 3 and 4, which are handwritten notes that bear the date 3-19-85. That would be March 19, 1985, in the upper lefthand corner. Is this your handwriting on these notes?

A Yes.

Q Now, first of all, just take a minute to look at them so that we can get some time context to some of the questions. Do you recall the occasion or the reason you had for making these two notes, that is, Exhibits 3 and 4?

A Yes.

Q What was that?

A Spitz Channell, and I were discussing with Ambassador Alvaro Rizo, and Mike Schoor, and his partner, Luman--I've forgotten his first name--the possibility of raising funds directly for the freedom fighters in Nicaragua.

Q All right. Now who is Ambassador Rizo?

A I'm not sure if I have all this totally correct, but I'll tell you what I do know. I think he was executive director, or president--I'm not sure what his title was--at the Nicaraguan Refugee Fund.

Q All right. And Michael Schoor?

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A He was an attorney.

Q All right. And you mentioned one other person.

A Luman. It's the firm of Luman and Schoor, but I had forgotten Luman's name.

Q Now, Exhibits 3 and 4, are they two pages of notes written on the same occasion?

A Yes.

Q All right. So looking at them together, at the time you were having this meeting, had you been introduced to IBC, or Mr. Miller or Mr. Gomez, to the best of your recollection?

A I don't believe so.

Q All right. Now do you recall what kind of a assistance you were going to provide to the FDN or the contras, or what kind of assistance was discussed at this meeting? Was it limited to humanitarian assistance?

A The points are here. On Exhibit 3, page one, it says "American Freedom and Fairness Purposes", "to develop public policy support and grassroots support, US-based public relations, and non-mercenary needs, health care and direct to the FDN".

Q What do you mean by non-mercenary needs?

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A Non-lethal.

Q All right. And when you say "direct to FDN",
Adolfo Calero was to whom that aid was going to be supplied?

A Yes, according to these people.

Q All right. Now, the Americans For Freedom and
Fairness, who, or what, are they?

A Well, I'm not sure if it was--I didn't know the
exact status of it. It might have been a 501(c)(3). I don't
know what the official status of it was, and, indeed, whether
it had been in fact incorporated yet, or was just an idea in
the planning stages. It wasn't clear to me. It's not clear
to me now. It may have been clear to me at that time, but I
don't remember.

Q Who is Stu Spen~~s~~cer?

A The name is very familiar but I can't place him.

Q All right. There's a box two-thirds of the way
down that page. It says, "Need a letter from Calero asking
AFF for help, saying AFF is a great group".

A Right.

Q Do you recall who was to get that letter? Was that
a responsibility that was assigned to someone?

A Well, I don't know if it was assigned to anybody.

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It was a request, on our part.

Q A request on AFF's part?

A No. On Spitz Channell and my part.

Q All right. What was the role you foresaw for yourself and Mr. Channell in relationship to AFF?

A Fundraising consultants.

Q All right. You were going to be fundraising consultants to AFF?

A Right.

Q I see. And the letter that you wanted to get was one essentially empowering AFF to raise funds for Mr. Calero?

A Yes.

Q All right. Who was going to head up AFF, if you know?

A I assumed the people in the room. Maybe it was going to be something different. Maybe I even knew at that time, but I don't recall now.

Q Look at the Exhibit 4. On the upper righthand corner there's a box that says "Richard Allen, 5K for fifty letters, plan, budget, Calero letter, IRS letter." Do you know what that note refers to?

A Well, the idea was that we should hire Richard

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Allen to help us.

Q Who is Richard Allen?

A Former national security adviser.

Q All right. And do you know where he was employed at that point, March 19, 1985?

A Oh, his consulting firm, I gather. I've never met the man.

Q All right. "5K for 50 letters". What's that a reference to?

A The fee we were going to offer him.

Q Fifty letters being what? What was he supposed to produce for his $5,000?

A Well, I think it was letters of endorsement, but I really don't remember. We never did anything.

Q All right. A third of the way down the page there's a note: "Letter, quotes, 'from President Reagan', McFarlane memo, and Ollie North memo. We like what you're doing". Can you explain those references.

A Well, this is all part of the fundraising documentation, if you will, or support, or putting together a package for credibility purposes when you do a personal solicitation, and so we needed to draft a letter from Calero that we wanted

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him to sign, basically this reference on Exhibit No. 3. And we wanted to get a letter from President Reagan supporting the freedom fighters in Nicaragua. We would get quotes from President Reagan that he'd made in the press, and then speeches and things regarding the freedom fighters in Nicaragua. We'd put all this into a packet, a memo from McFarlane, and a memo from Oliver North.

Q Did you know, at that time, who Oliver North was?

A I don't recall. This is the first time my notes indicate that I'd even heard the name, but he wasn't a familiar person. I didn't meet him until much later.

Q All right. Moving a couple of weeks later into early April, which I believe is the time that you said that you met Mr. Miller and Mr. Gomez.

MR. McGOUGH: Let's have this marked as the next exhibit.

(The document above-referred to was marked Conrad Deposition Exhibit No. 5 for identification.)

BY MR. McGOUGH:

Q This is a note dated April 7th, 1985, and again, is this your handwriting?

A Yes.

Q All right. Take a moment to look at it, if you want. I'm just going to ask you what it relates to.

A Yes. I understand.

Q All right. It has a reference to Rich Miller, so by that time you had met Mr. Miller, is that fair to say?

A Yes.

Q All right. "Helen Marie Taylor, ask her to give". Do you know what that means?

A She's a prospect.

Q All right. Mr. Miller. There's an item number one which is a White House authorization letter "for us and him". Were you asking Mr. Miller to obtain a White House authorization letter for you?

A Yes.

Q And number two is an authorization letter from Calero "empowering Rich and us to raise--and again I don't--

A "X" number of dollars.

Q --"X" number of dollars, immediately". Were you asking Mr. Miller to obtain such a letter for you?

A Yes.

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Q Number three refers to a meeting. Number four says, "Give us the name of 20 donors". Then there's "Promised: 1. To raise 50K for their projects. 2. 30 K as their fee for the authorization". What is that a reference to? What does that mean?

A That we would hire them to help us, and we would say that we would--these are the terms. We would raise $50,000 for their projects. They had--Rich Miller and Frank Gomez had other projects of their own related to this issue, and we would pay them. $30,000 is their fee for getting the authorization.

Q From whom?

A From Calero.

Q From Calero. In other words, IBC would receive $30,000 as a fee for obtaining Adolfo Calero's authorization to NEPL to raise money?

A Yes. Well, I can't remember who it was to, but--

Q Was the fee to be paid to IBC, or was the fee to be paid to Mr. Calero?

A Oh, to IBC.

Q All right. Did Mr. Miller agree to those terms?

A I can't recall.

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Q Who proposed the $30,000 fee as a fee for the authorization letter?

A Spitz.

Q Do you recall if Mr. Miller or Mr. Gomez asked for a fee for the authorization letter?

A Oh, no. We offered it.

Q All right. Do you recall if they accepted that offer?

A I don't think they did.

Q Do you recall what their answer was, or why they didn't accept it?

A I can't answer either of those questions. I don't know. They ended up taking a monthly retainer, but I don't remember the dealings that led to that.

Q Are these notes taken contemporaneously at a meeting?

A It was contemporaneous with a meeting with Spitz, not with anybody else.

Q All right. And was Spitz reporting on a meeting he had with IBC, or how did these notes come about?

A We were just discussing the subject. It's notes to myself, really.

Q Was it in advance of the meeting, or after the meeting? Do you know? And I guess what I'm focusing on is the word "promised" in the past tense.

A Yes. I think that's a mistake. I think it was to be promised.

Q To the best of your recollection--

A In other words, I'm being empowered to do this.

Q To make that offer?

A Yes. You know, I just left off the "to be"

Q All right. I see. So it was anticipatory to making this offer, as best you can recollect?

A Yes. But after a discussion with them about the topic in general. We had some things to work with, to develop this.

Q All right. Did there come a time when you had a dinner with Mr. John Ramsey in Texas?

A Yes.

Q There has been other testimony that that dinner occurred on or about April 10th, 1985. Does that date hit you as being approximately correct?

A Yes.

Q Where did the dinner take place?

A The Hay-Adams Hotel.

Q And who was there?

A John Ramsey, Rich Miller, Frank Gomez, Spitz Channell, and myself.

Q What was the purpose of the dinner?

A Well, part of the fundraising process to raise money for the freedom fighters.

Q Had you, Mr. Miller, Mr. Gomez, and Mr. Channell, or any subgroup of that, sat down before the dinner and talked about what you were going to say to Mr. Ramsey, or what approach you were going to make to him?

A Yes.

Q And who was engaged in those discussions before the dinner itself?

A I think all of us were, at different times, different groups, you know, different subgroups.

Q Was there a discussion, or did anyone say that Mr. Ramsey was more likely to contribute for lethal aid than for non-lethal aid to the contras, in anticipation of this meeting?

A No.

Q Were there any discussions about the type of assistance Mr. Ramsey might be willing to give, leading up to this dinner?

A Well, there was discussions about what he was not interested in giving to.

Q And what was he not interested in giving to?

A He didn't want to give to the refugees.

Q All right. Anything else?

A And he had concerns about giving directly to the freedom fighters.

Q What approach did you decide to take, or did the group decide to take with Mr. Ramsey, if you can generalize a bit about the pitch you were prepared to make?

A Well, we wanted to answer all of his questions, tell him what the current situation was in Nicaragua, and answer all of his questions about the situation. And basically give him an inside picture of what all was going on. Allay his fears and concerns, and that sort of thing.

Q Were there, again, prior to the dinner, discussions of the military needs of the contras?

A Rephrase the question.

Q Were there discussions of what they needed, militarily? What kind of weapons they needed in order to

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advance their cause?

MS. MORRISON: At what time?

THE WITNESS: By whom?

MR. McGOUGH: Prior to the dinner. I'm trying to establish, prior to the dinner, what kind of discussions led up to it, by anyone who was attending the dinner, that you're aware of.

THE WITNESS: Well--

MR. McGOUGH: And let me lay a little foundation here. I'm not trying to mousetrap you and I think you probably know we're eventually going to go to this document that appears to be a transcript of that dinner.

BY MR. McGOUGH:

Q What I'm trying to do is establish if there was any discussion before the dinner about things like Red/Eye missiles and rounds for AK-47s, and specific military lethal needs of the contras, leading up to the dinner?

A Well, the first I ever heard of it was at the dinner.

Q All right. Was the dinner recorded?

A Yes.

Q Who recorded it?

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A Me.

Q Did you record it surreptitiously or openly?

A Oh, openly.

Q How did you go about doing that?

A I put my tape recorder in the middle of the room, just like this.

Q Why did you record it?

A Because Rich Miller and Frank Gomez knew an enormous amount about the people involved, the effort involved, the facts of the situation in Nicaragua. They had been to Nicaragua, and they had been with the freedom fighters, and knew all the people, and everything, and we didn't. And I wanted to get all of the details of that, so that we could use the facts to weave into fundraising letters, which we would send to potential contributors.

MR. McGOUGH: Let's mark this as Exhibit 6.

(The document above-referred to was marked Conrad Deposition Exhibit No. 6 for identification.)

BY MR. McGOUGH:

Q Mr. Conrad, what is Exhibit 6?

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A A version of the transcript of the meeting with John Ramsey.

Q Who actually transcribed the tape on which you recorded this meeting?

A I don't recall.

Q Would it have been one of the secretaries?

A Yes.

Q You did not do it personally--

A No.

Q --is that right? You've seen this document before, have you not?

A Yes.

Q And recently?

A Yes.

Q At the end, I believe there is what appears to be, it appears to segue into a fundraising letter or one kind, or another?

A Yes.

Q Can we agree that at some point the dinner conversation ends, and, for one reason or another, whoever was transcribing this started transcribing a letter to be sent to donors?

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A Yes. Without the appropriate break.

Q Without the appropriate break. Can you put the appropriate break on that?

A Well, I haven't read this enough to--I haven't read this recently, so I'd have to go back and redo that, to be able to do that.

MR. McGOUGH: Let me say for the record, Alexia, I don't want to go through this whole thing line by line, and have it broken up by people, and all that sort of thing. We may have to do that at some point, and I appreciate your continued cooperation. We're not going to be the first or the last people who ask you to do it.

But I just want to lay a little bit of a foundation.

BY MR. McGOUGH:

Q We can agree, can we not, Mr. Conrad, that there are discussions of lethal military needs by the contras in the course of this dinner, is that right?

A Yes.

Q Having reviewed this transcript--and granted, that it's not broken down by speakers--can we agree that it is a fairly accurate, or it is an accurate transcript of the dinner that took place, the conversation that took place at that dinner?

A Yes. Or at least part of it.

Q Or at least part of it?

A Sure.

Q And there are handwritten notes on the copy that you've been given. Do you know whose handwriting that is?

A Well, I think it's either Rich Miller or Frank Gomez.

Q Did you in fact send a copy of this transcript to Mr. Miller and Mr. Gomez?

A I gave it to them.

Q All right. And did one or the other of them make handwritten notes on it?

A Yes. Or maybe they gave it to somebody else to do, but they were responsible for seeing it got done.

Q Did they ever object to your taping the proceedings?

A No.

Q Did they ever object to your transcribing the proceedings?

A Well, I wouldn't say object.

Q What would you say?

A They were concerned. After they saw it they said this shouldn't be around for public display, and I said, well, it's not, it's only for internal purposes. They said okay. This is after they had corrected it.

Q Then they performed some corrections on it?

A Yes.

Q Do you know what happened to the original tape?

A It was probably erased.

Q Do you have the original tape? Or maybe that's better addressed to Alexia.

A Well, maybe I have the original tape, but it's erased. So, I mean, I don't know which tape it was that had that original, erasure on it. I couldn't possibly--

Q I understand. But to the best of your knowledge, this recording has been erased?

A Oh, absolutely.

Q The recording of the dinner?

A Sure. I mean, this was several years ago. We use those tapes all the time.

Q All right. There are discussions--can we agree inhere?--for example--of Red/Eye missiles, and the cost of the a Red/Eye missile, and that sort of thing?

A Yes.

Q Were you the source of information about Red/Eye missiles?

A No.

Q Who was, if you recall?

A I think it was Rich Miller, but I'm not positive.

Q Were you surprised when the conversation took that turn?

A No.

Q Did you understand, going into the dinner, that Mr. Ramsey would be asked for money, and told that his money might go to buy lethal items like Red/Eye missiles?

A You have two questions there. Would you like to rephrase it?

Q Well, why don't we break it down. Did you understand that there would be discussion of things like Red/Eye missiles, going into the dinner?

A Well, like Red/Eye missiles, I'm not sure.

Q Lethal items?

A Yes.

Q You knew that, going into the dinner?

A Yes.

Q Did you understand that Mr. Ramsey might be willing

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to contribute funds toward the purchase of such items?

A No. I didn't know that at all.

Q Do you feel, at that dinner on April 10th, that Mr. Ramsey was asked to contribute toward the purchase of lethal items?

MS. MORRISON: Don't answer that. You mean you want his speculation as to what this transcript reflects?

MR. McGOUGH: No. I want his speculation as to what Mr. Ramsey was being asked to contribute to.

MS. MORRISON: Well, the transcript tells you what he was asked or not asked.

MR. McGOUGH: The transcript is incomplete.

BY MR. McGOUGH:

Q Setting aside the transcript, was Mr. Ramsey asked to contribute to the purchase of lethal items at that dinner?

MS. MORRISON: I mean, that is a conclusion. If you want to ask him if he formed an opinion at the time as to what Ramsey was being asked for, and whether, having formulated an opinion, if he did formulate an opinion, he recalls what that opinion was, I think maybe you can get at it that way.

BY MR. McGOUGH:

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Q Having had all those qualifications, do you know what you were asking Mr. Ramsey to contribute to?

A Do I know what he was asked to contribute to? Yes.

Q What?

A Direct aid to the contras.

Q And what do you mean by direct aid?

A That was not specified.

Q Was it intentionally not specified?

A Not to my recollection.

Q Does "direct aid" include Red/Eye missiles, as posed to Mr. Ramsey?

MS. MORRISON: You're talking about in his opinion, what he's thinking now, what Rich was thinking or--

MR. McGOUGH: That's right. Or what anybody else was doing. Did you understand "direct aid" to include Red/Eye missiles?

THE WITNESS: This is very difficult for me to answer. I don't know how to answer the question.

MR. McGOUGH: It's not an easy question.

THE WITNESS: No, but I just don't know how to answer that.

BY MR. McGOUGH:

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Q Turn to the last page of the transcript where someone is talking about two different kinds of Red/Eye missiles. There is one that's very unsophisticated, et cetera. And someone, at some point says: "So you have to have the $8,000 Red/Eye to make it work." Can we agree that's what the transcript says?

A Yes.

Q All right. And do you recall who said that?

A Well, I think John Ramsey, but I'd have to refresh my memory.

Q John Ramsey quoted the $8,000 price for the Red/Eye missile?

A Yeah. Does it appear earlier in the transcript? I don't know.

Q I think there are some prior references. Then there's a reference to a tradeoff, and quote: "If you provide money for ammunition, the money they've set aside for ammunition can go to boots. On the other hand, if you provide money for boots, what they've set aside for boots can go to ammunition." All right. Do you recall who said that?

A I think it was Rich Miller, but I'm not positive. Again, I have to re-read this to be sure who said what.

Q All right. Those two sentences, beginning, "If you provide money for ammunition--

A Yes.

Q --does that, in your mind, sum up what "direct aid" meant, that you were giving them money that was fungible, that could be used for either ammunition or humanitarian supplies?

A Yes.

Q As a professional fund raiser, and someone who is familiar with 501(c)(3) corporations--let me back up for a moment. The money that you were soliciting from Mr. Ramsey was to be paid to whom?

A I didn't know.

Q Was it to be brought into NEPL or was it to be given directly to Mr. Calero, if you know?

A Well, I did find out, subsequently.

Q But did you know at that time?

A No.

Q Did you consider the possibility that perhaps this type of assistance, or aid, might not be properly solicited by a 501(c)(3) corporation?

MS. MORRISON: You haven't established that he thought it was going to be solicited for a 501(c)(3) corporation. He said he didn't know who was going to get the money at that point.

BY MR. McGOUGH:

Q Well, who were the possibilities?

MS. MORRISON: If he thought about that at the time.

MR. McGOUGH: If you thought about them at the time. Fair enough.

THE WITNESS: I don't know how to answer that. I really--at the time.

MR. McGOUGH: Well, I'm not trying to ask you stumpers. I mean, I--

THE WITNESS: I know you're not intentionally trying but you're doing it.

MR. McGOUGH: Let me try to lead up to it again.

BY MR. McGOUGH:

Q You were asking this fellow for money, and a significant amount of money, by most people's standards, is that fair to say?

A Yes, but it wasn't for us.

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Q You must have had some understanding, at that point, to whom the money was going to go; if not a fixed understanding of the exact entity, at least some vague understanding of where, for whom you were soliciting money?

A Yes.

Q And how can you describe that, the target of that?

A Just direct aid to the freedom fighters. That was the idea.

Q All right. At that time, had there been any consideration given to bringing this money into NEPL, or any other Channell organizations?

A No. It was specifically avoided.

Q And why?

A Because Mr. Ramsey wanted to be sure that his money went directly to the freedom fighters without any intermediary.

Q How did this solicitation fit into your agreement with IBC, or any understanding you had with IBC about what NEPL intended to do for the freedom fighters?

A How did it fit in? I don't understand.

Q Prior to this dinner you had a meeting or some discussions with IBC about forming a relationship, and in the course of that relationship soliciting aid for the freedom fighters, is that right?

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A Directly. Yes.

Q Directly. What was NEPL's role to be in that solicitation, or what was Mr. Channell's organization's role to be in that?

MS. MORRISON: If it had been determined at that point.

MR. McGOUGH: Fair enough.

THE WITNESS: Well, I think in a document--I think there's a document you don't have here. But we wanted to do two things, and it's actually referred to--we got the idea, basically, from Exhibit No. 3, or it's referred to in Exhibit No. 3, which is we wanted to develop public policy support and grassroots support, and we wanted to provide non-mercenary needs, health care and such, to--direct aid to the freedom fighters. And those things got changed as time went on, but that was how it was started.

MR. McGOUGH: All right.

THE WITNESS: And what was your question? Tell me your question again.

BY MR. McGOUGH:

Q What was NEPL's role in the solicitations that were being planned at that point?

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A Well, it didn't have one at the beginning.

Q What were you doing at the meeting with Mr. Ramsey? What was your job at the meeting with Mr. Ramsey?

A Well, this is extremely difficult. I don't understand how to answer the question. My personal job?

Q Yes. Let's start there.

A Listen and take notes, and make a tape recording, and see that everything went all right in the solicitation. Monitor what happened, critique it after the fact, prompt people beforehand. Consulting things.

Q All right. Let's move beyond the dinner to a short time later, and mark this as Exhibit 7.

(The document above-referred to was marked Conrad Deposition Exhibit No. 7 for identification.)

BY MR. McGOUGH:

Q This is a note, Mr. Conrad, again your handwriting, is that right?

A Yes.

Q Dated April 20th, 1985?

A Yes.

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Q Do you recall what sparked this note?

A Yes. This is a transcript by me from the same tape that was used to transcribe the John Ramsey meeting, but while the meeting was going on, I took the tape recorder and held it close to my mouth, and talked with Rich Miller--sort of making notes to myself while the transcript was happening. And I wanted to extract those from the tape, so they wouldn't get confused in the transcript, and this is a verbatim transcript that I made myself, because I knew what I was looking for.

Q Okay. Number one is head, "Idea, colon", and then there's an idea--people giving money for the value of weapons.

A Yes.

Q All right. Now again, this would be money given directly to the contras, is that--

A Well, it wasn't clear at the time. I guess.

Q All right. Number two is a reference about "Contacting" and there's "We". "We will contact all weapons manufacturers", et cetera. Who is "we"?

A It was not specific at the time.

Q All right. Number three also includes a "we". To whom is that a reference?

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A Oh, that's to us, to Spitz Channell and myself.

Q All right. You needed a thank-you letter from Rich and Frank to John Ramsey, and a thank-you letter from Adolfo to John Ramsey. That was something you wanted to do as part of the fundraising--

A Package.

Q Package. That's a good word. All right. Then plus a list of items they need to purchase and their cost.

A Right.

Q You and Spitz wanted to obtain a list of the items they needed, and their cost, is that--

A A fundraising package needs to include specific items--I mean, in a hospital you have to do the same thing. You have to know--you know--how much the X-ray machine costs, and how much--specific items, how much they cost, are.

Q All right. This list that you were going to get, from whom were you going to get it?

A It was just a note. It's a "to-do" list item. We needed to discuss who we might get it from. We didn't know. We just made a list of things we needed.

Q What did you plan to do with it?

A Well, it would be part of the fundraising package.

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Q It would be sent out to donors, or used in some way to solicit money from donors?

A Yes.

Q And as far as the list of items that they needed, were you drawing in your own mind at that point--I'm only talking about you--know in your own mind the distinction between lethal and non-lethal supplies?

A I don't think I thought about it.

Q Even in light of the Ramsey dinner and the discussion of weapons at the Ramsey dinner?

A Well, the reason for discussing the weapons at the Ramsey dinner was far different from what direct aid should be.

Q Elaborate on that a little bit. I'm not sure I understand.

A Well, John Ramsey is a worrier, and believes that refugees should not be given money, they should be given guns and turned around and pointed back toward their border, tell the people to go shoot the opposition. I mean, so he wants to know his--how will I put it? His hobby is the things of warfare. I mean, he follows all that very closely, and the discussion in the transcript had to do with--it's basically a discussion of how viable they were, militarily. I don't know how else to put that. And it's because his special interest--in other words, he doesn't want to give money to them, if they're not militarily viable, if they're going to be a "nothing" organization.

It was not, for example, that he was going to supply them the actual weapons, in my view, I mean, that was--

Q But I think you said, or we were talking about direct aid, which, essentially the concept is money is fungible and it can be used for either lethal or non-lethal supplies.

A Yes.

Q Up until the John Ramsey solicitation, had you ever been involved in raising money for a fighting force before?

A No.

Q Was this a new role for you, to say the least?

A Oh, absolutely. I'd never done anything political before.

Q Did you have any qualms about doing it? Any reservations about doing it?

A Well, I didn't know what I was--I didn't know what the rules and particulars were. I mean, it was a very unusual arena.

Q Agreed. You say you don't know what the rules and particulars were. Do you mean the practical rules or the legal rules?

A Both.

Q What attempts did you make--

A I meant mostly, though, the practical ones, not so much--

Q Did you have some reservations about whether or not it was legal for you, for a nonprofit organization to be involved, even peripherally, in raising money for a fighting force, raising direct aid for a fighting force at that time?

A I didn't have any misgivings about it at the time. It had not come up in my experience before.

Q Did you seek any legal advice at that time about what NEPL or a nonprofit organization could or could not do in that context?

A Well, I can't recall whether we did or we didn't. Yeah. I just don't recall.

Q Do you recall consulting lawyers about anything at that point?

A I'm not sure when it was.

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Q Obviously it's triggered a recollection that there was some consultation with some lawyer about something, is that right? And you don't know when it was?

A Yes. That's correct.

Q Who was the lawyer?

A Curt Herge. H-e-r-g-e.

Q I don't want to penetrate attorney-client privilege, but I do want to ask, did the subject of the consultation deal with what we've been talking about, that is, what is permissible for--

MS. MORRISON: He's told you the fact of a consultation and with whom he consulted, and he is not able to identify the timeframe, and we're not going to talk about, by illusion to earlier conversations, or by general subject matter, what the nature of the consultation was about. It's privileged.

BY MR. McGOUGH:

Q Did you, at some point, have personal misgivings about the legality of what you were doing?

A Yes.

Q When? When did that first arise?

A I'm not sure, exactly. I really am not.

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Q I'm not asking you, exactly, but can you put it in some kind of context? Can you relate it to any particular event?

A I think maybe the last--the third or the fourth quarter of '85.

Q So we're talking some time between July 1, '85 and December 31, '85?

A Right.

Q Do you recall what caused those misgivings? Was there a specific catalytic event?

A No. It was a cumulation of events.

Q Now, for a period of time after the Ramsey dinner, NEPL--and when I speak of NEPL, rather than name all of Mr. Channell's various organizations, I'm speaking of them collectively as NEPL--NEPL raised and collected, or solicited and collected funds that it provided directly to elements of the contra organization, is that a fair statement? And I'm trying to bracket the period of time from, say, March of '85 to when the payments or the contributions started to be made to IBC.

Was there a transition period during which NEPL collected money for the contras that it then distributed

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directly to some person or entity representing the contras, other than IBC?

A And what's the time period you're asking about?

Q April, May, June 1985.

A Yes.

Q Did you have any understanding, at that point, as to what the aid during that period was directed to, or was to be used for?

A Just direct aid.

Q In the same sense that we discussed direct aid earlier?

A Yes.

Q That is, fungible money?

A Yes.

Q To whom, if you know, was that money provided?

A I did not know at the time.

Q Have you learned since?

A Yes.

Q And who is it?

A I think it was Alpha Services.

Q There came a time--moving on a little bit--when there was a shift in the contribution mechanism, and the

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money targeted for the contras was paid to IBC or some related entity, is that fair to say?

A Yes.

Q Now there has been testimony by other witnesses about a dinner that took place on July 9th, 1985, and I believe with Colonel North, and some other people there. You were mentioned as one of the people who was present at that dinner. Now do you recall that dinner?

A Yes.

Q Do you remember why the dinner was put together?

A Yes.

Q And why was that?

A Well, it had several purposes. One was to report on our progress of the June--something or other--event. I don't remember the exact date. So, in other words, reporting on our progress of our fundraising from those people. We also wanted to find out the degree to which we could ask Oliver North for help and assistance, how much access we could get to him, and how much help he would give us. I mean, there's a whole--I had a huge list of things that we wanted to discuss.

We wanted to discuss worldwide fundraising. I

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can't remember what else.

Q Was one of the topics of conversation at dinner how NEPL should direct its contributions to the contras?

A It wasn't planned to be, but it came out to be.

Q Can you tell me how that came about?

A I think Spitz asked how we should do things. I've forgotten how he phrased it. But Colonel North said that--pointing to Rich Miller and Frank Gomez--just pass it through them, they'll handle it.

Q Did he mention IBC, specifically, or, if you recall?

A I don't think he mentioned IBC, specifically. I can't recall, precisely.

Q And is it fair to say from that point onward, contributions directed to the contras, as a general matter, went to or through IBC?

A Yes.

Q As a professional fund~~-~~raiser, did you have any reservations about that arrangement?

A No. I thought that was fine.

Q Did you ask for any assurances or guarantees from IBC as to what was happening to the money?

A I didn't. Spitz was doing it.

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Q Do you know if he ever got those assurances?

A They said they would provide the documents. They gave us some documents along the way.

Q When did you first meet Colonel North?

A The June--something or other--meeting, briefing. I don't remember the date of it.

Q Between the June briefing and the July 9th dinner, do you recall if you had any contact with Colonel North, personally?

A No.

MR. McGOUGH: Let's just mark this as Exhibit No. 8.

(The document above-referred to was marked Conrad Deposition Exhibit No. 8 for identification.)

BY MR. McGOUGH:

Q I show you what has been marked as Exhibit 8, Mr. Conrad, and it's dated September 3rd, 1985. Is that correct?

A Yes.

Q And it's in your handwriting, is that also right?

A Yes.

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Q Do you recall whether a specific event triggered the making of this note?

A Well, Spitz's direction. I mean, I don't know what else to say.

Q They're not notes of a particular meeting that sticks in your mind, or anything like that?

A Well, this was the thing that later resulted in my notes. I mean, this is one of the precursor documents, and so I would have done this at a meeting with Spitz.

Q Kind of an embryonic "to-do" list, do you think?

A Well, this was when I was still doing it, not on the computer.

Q All right. Now the top portion has "Rich and Frank", and that's Miller and Gomez, is that right?

A Yes.

Q And it has a list below it--"Strategic Review", "Soldier of Fortune", et cetera, et cetera. Some of them include telephone numbers. Can you tell me what that note means.

A Well, we wanted to get information on the contras, and what was happening to them, and these were just various military publications and Spitz thought we might need to

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subscribe to these.

Q Why, with the type of access that at least Mr. Miller and Mr. Gomez had, were you interested in information on the contras?

A Good question.

Q Well, let me back up. Who was supposed to do what regarding this note, I guess is the question?

A Oh, I was supposed to subscribe to these publications for our office.

Q And what is the reference, "Rich and Frank"?

A They mentioned, they gave me the list of who the publications were. You know, which publications were the significant ones.

Q I understand.

A Now, but, for example, there's "Military Space" on there which I have no idea why they would say that.

MR. McGOUGH: I think that's all I have. We can break for lunch and then go back to the "to-do" lists.

MR. FRYMAN: We'll resume at 2:15.

[Lunch recess.]

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AFTERNOON SESSION

[2:30 P.M.]

Whereupon,

DANIEL LYNN CONRAD

resumed the witness stand following a luncheon recess and, having previously been duly sworn, was further examined and further testified as follows:

RESUMPTION OF EXAMINATION BY COUNSEL FOR THE HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Mr. Conrad, returning to Deposition Exhibit 1 for identification, would you look at the "to-do" list in that exhibit, dated September 17, 1985, and I believe that begins at page 20981. Again that begins with a Roman "I", Greene. And item "D" under that reads: "confirm today with Greene Ralph's meeting of Tuesday (it will probably take 1 hour at Green's office or other location)".

Now, first of all, that is your note in that "to do" list, is it not? You prepared that?

A Yes.

Q Yes. And Greene, again, is North?

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A Yes.

Q Now who does Ralph refer to?

A Well, I think it's Ralph Hixson, but I'm not sure.

Q Who is Ralph Hixson?

A He was a contributor.

Q And where did he live?

A In Texas. I don't know the town.

Q Was there also a Ralph Hooper?

A Yes. But I don't think we even knew him at this time.

Q So you believe this refers to Ralph Hixson?

A Yes. His name is here, right above it.

Q Now had he been a prior contributor to any of Mr. Channell's organizations?

A Spitz knew him. I don't know if he was a contributor or not. I think he was. I don't know.

Q What was the reason for confirming a meeting with Greene on Tuesday?

A I don't understand.

Q Well, let me rephrase it. Were you aware that Mr. Hixson had made a contribution to NEPL--and by NEPL I will include the other Channell organizations as well--on or around September 17, 1985?

A Well, I think it was under discussion, and I think he did eventually make a contribution, but I don't remember the dates.

Q Was the intended purpose of this meeting, to your understanding, to facilitate a fundraising effort with Mr. Hixson?

A Broadly speaking, yes.

Q All right. And again, how would that work? What would be the purpose of meeting with Colonel North?

A Well, it's the same purpose as when any political organization in Washington invites contributors to Washington for, quote, "a briefing", close quote, because the whole methodology there is that you're getting an inside look, fresh, current, up-to-the-minute, not what's in the news, insider information.

Q Did you understand that a meeting with someone such as Colonel North added a certain legitimacy to your fundraising efforts?

A Well, of course.

Q All right. And that was one of the purposes of a meeting with Colonel North, was it not?

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A Sure.

Q Now item "E" on that same page reads: "follow up with Greene on Ross Perot". What does that refer to?

A We wanted to solicit Ross Perot for a major contribution, and so we asked Colonel North whether he knew Ross Perot and how to contact him, and maybe he could arrange the appointment for us, and so on.

Q What did Colonel North say?

A Well, I don't remember whether it was on this occasion. I don't remember when this happened because we had several discussions with Ross Perot--I mean, about Ross Perot.

Q Let's just focus on Ross Perot at any point in time. Would you recount what the efforts were and what happened.

A Well, we wanted to, as I said, solicit Ross Perot for a contribution for the freedom fighters, and we--I don't know--I can't recall, exactly, how this came up, but he knew Ross Perot. I mean, he discussed that with me. And so--

Q "He" being Colonel North?

A Yes. And so we talked about whether or not he would be interested, and how we might make an approach to him so that he would see us over the issue, and the pros and

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cons of talking with him, and all that sort of thing. That's the context.

Q And did you talk with Ross Perot?

A No.

Q You had no contact with him at all?

A None.

Q Did Mr. Channell?

A No.

Q Did anyone else within NEPL?

A No. Well, wait a minute. Some of the fundraisers might have tried to call him or something, but none that I remember.

Q Are you aware of any contribution that Mr. Perot made, either directly or indirectly, to NEPL?

A No.

Q And again, when I refer to NEPL, I intend--

A You mean all the organizations.

Q --that to mean all of the Channell organizations.

A Yes. I understand you.

Q Prior to the press reports within the last few months, had you been aware that Mr. Perot had been making any funds available in connection with release of the hostages?

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A Yes.

Q When did you become aware of that?

A I don't remember the time.

Q What were the circumstances?

A Colonel North told me.

Q Where did he tell you?

A In his office.

Q What did he tell you about that?

A Well, he said that Ross had been providing cash, on one occasion, over a million dollars in cash for getting the hostages out of Beirut.

Q How did this subject come up in your conversation with Colonel North?

A It was at general discussion about Ross Perot.

Q And approximately when was this?

A We discussed it several times. I don't remember. We're talking maybe third or fourth quarter of '85 again. I think it even continued into first quarter of '86. I mean, it was sort of a continuous theme.

Q Was anyone else present in these discussions that you had with Colonel North?

A Not that I recall.

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Q Was Mr. Channell present?

A It's possible on some occasions, but mostly it was just me.

Q I take it from your answer, that you had a number of meetings with Colonel North where you met individually with him?

A Oh, yes.

Q Did Colonel North give you any further details about Mr. Perot's involvement in release of the hostages, other than he had provided some money?

A He may have said something else, but I don't--I mean, that's the thing that sticks out in my mind.

Q Do you have any recollection of what else he would have said?

A Not as regard the hostages.

Q What else would he have said about Ross Perot?

A He said he was--I don't know his exact words, but the point was that he was a person who wanted a lot of personal publicity, and that if you wanted to carry on really sensitive negotiations and dealings, and things, you had to be really careful about Ross Perot's involvement because he might hold a press conference and announce that he was

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involved in this issue, and thereby "blow" the whole deal.

Q What was Colonel North's reaction to your interest in approaching Mr. Perot about making a contribution to NEPL?

A Oh, he said he would try to get us in touch with him. He'd raise the issue. He thought there was initially some problems, but he would try to deal with it.

Q Do you know what efforts he made?

A Well, I know what he told me he did.

Q What did he tell you?

A He said he talked with Bud McFarlane, and who knew him better than Ollie did, and said that he--Bud--had talked with Ross, and that Ross was ultimately not interested in helping this particular cause. He was involved in too many other things. But I don't know for a fact whether that ever happened. That's just what I was told.

Q Right. Had you ever been told, or were you aware that Mr. McFarlane had been involved in any other fundraising efforts for NEPL?

A I think he--what did he do? Well, I think we wanted him to come to one of our briefings one time but there wasn't any more to it than--this was the only occasion, that I recall, where--

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Q What about efforts by Mr. McFarlane to contact any other specific individual?

A No. We never requested it and it was never offered.

Q And you'd never been aware of his being involved in any such efforts?

A No.

Q Also on this same page, item "G" reads: "Greene: have a secret project for getting the hostages out of Beirut". What does that refer to?

A Spitz had the idea that we should raise money to provide to Ollie North, from private citizens in the United States to get the hostages out of Beirut.

Q Had that idea been discussed with Colonel North?

A I discussed it with him.

Q What did he say?

A He said the project was--I got the impression--adequately funded, and they didn't need funds for it.

Q Was that one of the occasions when he told you about Ross Perot providing funds?

A Maybe.

Q Did he indicate who else was providing funds, if anyone?

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A No. He didn't.

Q Did Mr. Channell initiate this idea of NEPL raising funds to use for this purpose or--

A Yes.

Q --did someone else?

A No, he initiated it.

Q And did you discuss this with Colonel North on just one occasion or more than one occasion?

A I think just one.

Q And just again, to summarize his response, it was that your assistance was not needed in that regard because they had other assistance or other sources of funds?

A That's my impression of the conversation, but I don't remember the exact words or anything.

Q All right. Now also on this page there's an item "F" that reads: "follow up with Greene on World Wide Fund Raising". What does World Wide Fund Raising refer to?

A We were hearing reports, or seeing reports in the press that said that the freedom fighters were raising money-$27 or $28 million, from sources outside the United States, and that was far more than we were raising, and so we thought that we were good at fund raising and so we wanted to know--

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we knew that the needs of the freedom fighters were much greater than we were able to provide. And so we wanted to be able to--we wanted to be put in touch with--we wanted to know more about these other outside activities, and we wanted to be put in touch with the various people and individuals who would be interested enough to make a contribution. And this was a subject which we discussed on many occasions.

Q Why did you consider Colonel North a person to speak with about this?

A He was the point man for the Administration on the freedom fighters, and if anybody knew, he was the person to know, we thought.

Q And you spoke with him about this world wide fund raising on several occasions?

A Oh, yes.

Q Were these conversations with you, individually or were other persons present?

A Usually they were with me, but there were occasions with other people.

Q And who were the other people?

A Rich Miller, Frank Gomez, Spitz Channell.

Q Can you differentiate what Colonel North told you

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in the different specific conversations, or do you have a general impression of what he told you in the group of conversations about this subject?

A A general impression.

Q What's your general recollection of what he said in these conversations?

A Well, he said that the press wasn't correct, and there wasn't as much money as was reported, and he said he didn't know a lot of the details of it. And he always said he would try to be very helpful and look into this, and try to facilitate it, and all that, but nothing ever happened.

Q Did he identify any sources of funds?

A On occasion, yes. They appear in my "to-do" lists.

Q What sources do you recall, now, that he identified?

A Sir James Goldsmith.

Q Who else?

A That's all I remember at the minute.

Q Did he identify any other individuals who had been involved in the worldwide fund-raising effort, apart from the contributors?

A You mean as solicitors?

Q Yes.

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A President Reagan.

Q What did he say about President Reagan?

A He said that--how did he put it? It was easy to raise money for--it was easy to raise money when you had the President as your advance man, I think was how he put it. And he wasn't being specific about what he did. I mean, he just said--

Q Did he identify any specific contributions that the President, as advance man, had been responsible for?

A No.

Q Did he identify anyone he'd met with as a, quote, "advance man"?

A Not that I recall.

Q Anyone other than President Reagan?

A I think he--well, I don't know how this--I don't know if I'm exactly answering your question, but we talked about General Singlaub and his involvement in worldwide fund raising.

Q What did he say about General Singlaub?

A Well, just that he was involved in it. He didn't say--I mean, I think we rattled off a list of country names, at one point, where we thought there might be funds, but I

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can't remember whether he named them, the countries, or I provided them to him from my researches in the press.

Q Did he identify any countries where funds were coming from at that point?

A Well, he mentioned several countries, but he did not mention that there were funds coming from the countries.

Q Which countries did he mention?

A I think [redacted] I think that's all.

Q Did he mention [redacted]

A I don't think he mentioned [redacted]

Q Now what did he say about these four countries that you've mentioned?

A I don't recall the specific circumstances, but that he thought there were people in those countries who were conservatives and strongly supportive of the freedom fighters.

Q Did he identify any?

A People?

Q Yes.

A Well, as I've said, the only one I recall, off the top of my head, is Sir James Goldsmith, and he's not one of those four countries.

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Q Right. Well, going back to Sir James Goldsmith, what did he tell you about Sir James Goldsmith?

A Well, not a lot. He just said he was a wealthy person that--I mean, it was in the context of, you know, who would be--who's wealthy and who's conservative.

Q Well, did he say that he had provided funds?

A No.

Q Did he say how he knew Sir James Goldsmith?

A No. He did not.

Q Was it your understanding that Colonel North did know him?

A I couldn't tell from the way he said it. It wasn't clear. Actually, I think I had the impression that he didn't know him because, you know, he didn't introduce us to him. In other words, he didn't make a phone call to say you should see these people.

Q Continuing on in this same "to do" list, turning to item Roman XI, which is the October 17 White House meeting, and on page five there is an item "D" which says: "prepare a letter for the October military update". What does that mean?

A A good question. I don't have any idea.

Q Did you write this?

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A Yes. I mean, it doesn't make sense to me now. It just doesn't make any sense to me now. Oh, I think it is--I'm deducing--but I think it is--the invitation on the previous page--is referred to actually in "B", above, what was going to be involved in that, and the letter is what we would send people, as opposed to one from the White House. In other words, the October military update refers to the briefing, the content of the briefing. And the letter about it is the invitation. It's a letter that we would--it's not exactly an invitation. It's a letter we would with the invitation. Have an invitation as a part of it.

Q So in effect it is the communication from NEPL to a potential contributor asking them to attend a military briefing at the White House?

A Yes.

Q Item "F" on that same page reads: "Will the boss come to the meeting?" Who does "the boss" refer to?

A Ronald Reagan.

Q Did he come to that meeting?

A No.

Q Did you seek his attendance?

A Yes.

Q How?

A Asked Rich and Frank. Asked Oliver North.

Q And what was the response?

A I don't remember the specific instance, but he couldn't come. I mean, not available, out of town, something. Who knows?

Q You mentioned a few minutes ago, that you had a number of meetings with Colonel North without Mr. Channell being present.

A Yes.

Q What was the reason that you had these one-on-one meetings with Colonel North?

A Spitz asked me to be the contact person with Colonel North.

Q And this was a part of your duties as executive director--

A Yes.

Q --or the No. 2 person in the organization?

A Yes.

Q Turning to the next "to-do" list, which is September 21, item "V" again is an October 17 White House meeting.

A Item five?

Q Roman "V" on page 2.

A Yes. I have it.

Q And under that is capital letter "H"; "program for the evening". And then you have Arabic number one, and then small "a" RR, and small "b", Green. Does that mean that you were seeking the President and Colonel North to appear at the evening briefing?

A Yes.

Q How did you seek their attendance?

A I don't know how to answer the question.

Q Well, that was the same as your answer with respect to the prior outline?

A Yes.

Q Okay. Now item 3 there refers to "private meetings". What do you mean by "private meetings"?

A With Colonel North. Not in a group setting. In his office, or a restaurant, or something.

Q And what individuals were selected for private meetings? Was this--

A "Hot" prospects.

Q What do you mean by that?

A People who we thought might give money.

Q I take it this did not include everyone who was attending the briefing?

A True.

Q It was a selected group?

A Yes.

Q And by "hot" prospects, did this mean that they would contribute a large amount of money?

A Sometimes.

Q Or you anticipated that they might?

A Sometimes.

Q What would be the exceptions to that?

A If they would give some money. I mean, in other words, we might not know how much they would give, but we thought that they were sufficiently interested, that we would go and spend extra time with them.

Q Well, you didn't invite anybody to the briefing, that you didn't think was interested in making some contribution, did you?

A True.

Q So there was something additional about the individuals who were selected for a private meeting?

A I think--yes, true.

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Q And what was that extra element?

A It's one of two things. A personal relationship existing with the solicitor, with the fund-raiser, or, in the opinion of the fund-raiser, that they had significant potential.

Q Now the individuals identified here--the first one is the "Warms" and then it's marked "day after".

A Right.

Q Who were the "Warms"?

A David and Paul Warm.

Q And the "day after" means that the private meeting would be the day after the general dinner?

A Yes.

Q The next name is Witts.

A Right.

Q Who were the Witts?

A It's David Witts. I don't know. I can't remember if his wife was there or not.

Q Who is David Witts?

A A contributor who lives in Texas.

Q Did he contribute to NEPL?

A Yes.

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Q Do you remember how much?

A Well, at least five thousand. I don't remember if he gave more. Maybe he did. I can't recall. I think he did give more but I don't remember how much.

Q And is Brandon, Inman Brandon?

A Yes.

Q And he's an attorney in Atlanta?

A Yes.

Q And does Bunker refer to Bunker Hunt?

A Yes.

Q Now the next name is Blakemore. Who is Mr. Blakemore?

A Bill Blakemore.

Q Who is he?

A A Texan.

Q What's he do?

A I think he's--I'm not sure. A wealthy person but I don't know--

Q Where does he live?

A I think he might be in oil, or ranching. I'm not sure.

Q Where does he live?

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A I don't know the town. I'd have to go look.

Q And was he a contributor?

A Yes.

Q Do you recall how much?

A Again, at least five thousand, but I don't remember how much.

Q Who was Seggerman?

A Harry Seggerman and his wife. I forget her name.

Q And was he a contributor?

A Yes.

Q Where was he from?

A New York.

Q What was his occupation?

A I'm not sure I ever knew.

Q Do you know the source of his wealth?

A I don't. Not that I recall. I may have known at one time but I don't remember at the minute.

Q Now turning to the "to-do" list dated September 30.

A September 3?

Q September 30.

A Oh, I'm sorry.

Q Which begins on page 20152. Now Roman "II" is

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headed "Public diplomacy program". What was that?

A Well, it was an extensive program that we designed, and we wanted to send speakers around the country from the freedom fighters, explaining what the situation was, and we wanted to do advertising, television advertising, and newspaper advertising. And there were several other components to it. It was a very complex program.

Q Who came up with the idea for this program?

A Well, at the beginning it just evolved from, I suppose you'd say Spitz. It evolved overtime, with several people's input.

Q Was it related to votes in the Congress on Nicaragua aid?

A Well, related? I'm not sure what that--

Q Well, was an objective of the public diplomacy program to influence votes in Congress on Nicaragua aid legislation?

MS. MORRISON: Are you distinguishing in that question between an objection and an anticipated benefit?

MR. FRYMAN: Well, I think I'll leave the question the way it is, if you understand it.

THE WITNESS: Well, the way I would put it is it's

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a grassroots program.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q What do you mean by that?

A It's intended to give public information--I'm sorry--to give the public information on this issue.

Q For what purpose?

A So that they'd be better informed. I mean, that's what we were all about, public education.

Q And you say that this program was developed by a number of people?

A Yes.

Q Who were the people?

A Well, at the beginning it was Spitz, and then I added to it, and Rich Miller added to it, Frank Gomez added to it, and then there were about, I think eleven different--I don't remember how many--just a huge number of public relations firms who we invited to give us presentations on how they would conduct such a program. We told them in general what we wanted to do, and they then came back to us with proposals. So it was a--oh, and our advertising people also--Bob and Adam Goodman, also had input to it.

Q Do you know if this is the first reference in your "to-do" list to the public diplomacy program?

A Well, I don't know, it may be, but it was existing long before this.

Q When did it begin?

A Oh, it was extent when I arrived.

Q Prior to--

A But we just made up the name, maybe about this time. I don't know.

Q But from early 1985, this had been a major activity of NEPL?

A Right. From our first meeting with IBC.

Q Now was this a subject that was discussed with Colonel North?

A Yes.

Q Did he advise you on the public diplomacy program?

A Well, advise is not the word I'd use.

Q What word would you use?

A He listened and encouraged us to go on. I mean, in other words, he thought we were doing a nice thing, and we should continue.

Q And an integral part of this program was television advertisements, was it not?

A Yes.

Q And they were directed to particular media markets?

A Yes.

Q How were those media markets selected?

A It was a very laborious process. I don't remember all the steps that took place in the development of it. It was very complex.

Q Were they generally related to the locations of particular Congressmen?

A That was one of the features involved.

Q What others?

A The public opinion in the area. The editorial content of the major newspapers in the area, that we knew about.

Q Now as to the element of the location of particular Congressmen, was that criteria based on how the particular Congressmen had voted on Nicaragua legislation?

A Yes.

Q And media markets at least with respect to that one element were selected because a Congressman had voted against aid for the Nicaragua resistance?

A Well, that was, as I mentioned, not the only reason.

Q But that was a factor?

A It was a factor.

Q Who is Jimmy Lyon, Houston?

A He's a banker.

Q What was his role in this public diplomacy program?

A Nothing.

Q What does he appear as item "B" under this heading, Roman "II" public diplomacy program?

A He used to be rich.

Q He was not, as of September 30, 1985?

A Yes, he was, on September 30.

Q Did you view him as a potential contributor to this program?

A Yes.

Q Why was he selected, particularly, as a potential contributor?

A Spitz knew him.

Q Did you contact him?

A No.

Q Did someone for NEPL?

A No.

Q Why not?

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A The "to-do" list is quite long.

Q I don't understand that answer.

A We had 8 million things we needed to do, and there is a whole raft of things we didn't get to, and that was one of the things we didn't get to.

Q All right. Now also, under that heading, item "C" reads: "Follow up with Green on Ross Perot", and then it states, "proposal due 10-17-85 for $2 million".

A Right.

Q What does that refer to?

A Well, we wanted to do a public diplomacy program that would be very expensive, and we wanted to ask Ross Perot for $2 million to help fund that program, and Ollie North said that he would convey a proposal for us if we developed one.

Q Did you develop one?

A No.

Q What happened?

A Well, I can't recall, exactly, but I think the project got--we couldn't "nail down" the project. We didn't finally do that until well into '86.

Q Did this become the CAFP program?

A Yes.

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Q That stands for Central American Freedom Program?

A Very good.

Q But you did not solicit Ross Perot for this program in 1985?

A No.

Q Did you, in 1986?

A No. Well, we wanted to, but we didn't.

Q Why not?

A Well, because we asked--as I mentioned before--we asked Colonel North and Bud McFarlane to contact him, and that he wasn't interested. They said to us he wasn't interested. I'm sorry. Colonel North said to us he wasn't interested. So, why bother to prepare a proposal, if he's not going to look at it?

Q Now Fred Sacher's--S-a-c-h-e-r--name appears on a number of occasions in these "to-do" lists. Who was Fred Sacher?

A A contributor.

Q Where did he reside?

A California.

Q What did he do?

A I think he's in industrial real estate.

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Q Was he anything more than a contributor in your activities? Was he involved in preparing a film, or any presentation that was used?

A No. Not that I recall.

Q So far as you know, his only involvement in NEPL was as a contributor?

A Yeah.

Q Do you know if Mr. Channell had had a prior relationship with Mr. Sacher as a contributor?

A I don't recall how we got in contact with him.

Q There's the reference in item "E": "get Fred Sacher presentation from Rich". What does that refer to?

A Well, we had IBC prepare a presentation on the components of a public diplomacy program, and we made it up for Rich to give to Fred Sacher, which he did. And so that's what it is.

Q And that was as a basis for seeking a contribution from Mr. Sacher?

A Yes.

Q Did he make a contribution?

A Yes.

Q Do you recall the amount?

A I also don't remember whether it was at this time.

Q All right. Now what's the reference in the preceding item, "Fred Sacher: Gallup poll of American Awareness". What would he have to do with a Gallup poll?

A He wanted us to get one. Or in other words, we--maybe not--how do I put this? We wanted to be able to show Fred Sacher this. In other words, for the Fred Sacher presentation we would want to show him what the Gallop poll showed.

Q Turning to item "X' on page five of this outline, that's headed "Rich and Frank", and I take it these are assignments for Rich and Frank, is that correct?

A Yes.

Q Now under "A", October objectives, there's a list of various meetings and/or letters with President Reagan, including meetings with Barbara Newington, Bunker Hunt, and Ellen Garwood. What was the reason you were trying to establish meetings between the President and those individuals?

A To facilitate fund raising.

Q Had they made substantial contributions by that point?

A Yes. Well, I think so. I'd have to look at the record to know what it had exactly been by that time. What, by September 30?

Q Yes.

A Well, two of them had at least.

Q Which two?

A Barbara Newington and Ellen Garwood. I don't know substantial, either. I mean, that's another question.

Q Well, was the general pattern that a contributor would meet with the President at a meeting which you arranged, only after there had been a sizeable contribution?

A I wouldn't say that that was the determining factor.

Q What was the determining factor?

A I suppose whether we thought that they might give--that they had potential, that they might give a large amount of money.

Q Do you recall any meeting that NEPL attempted to arrange with the President--

A Yes.

Q --that involved an individual who had contributed less than $300,000?

A Well, as I said before, at this particular time, I believe Ellen Garwood had given less than $300,000, and I believe the Warms and Fred Sacher had given less than $300,000. I believe Bunker Hunt had given less than 300,000 as well.

Q Well, this sheet doesn't say anything about a meeting with the President with the Warms, does it?

A It says "add Sacher and Warms", off to the side in my notes.

Q Oh, all right. That's your handwritten note?

A Yes. That's correct.

Q All right.

A So, you know, it's more of a cultivation technique than--I don't know what you said before, but that was the purpose of it.

Q And your route for arranging these meetings at this point in time was Rich Miller and Frank Gomez?

A Chiefly.

Q And what was the other route? You directly to Colonel North?

A Colonel North, yes. And various other people as well. As I mentioned, I asked John Roberts to arrange these things, and there are various other people that we came across at different times, and would ask them if they could arrange this.

Q Item 11 here is "dinner with Don Regan". Did such a dinner occur?

A No.

Q This item indicates you sought to have Miller and Gomez arrange such a dinner?

A Yes.

Q Do you know why they were unable to do that?

A They weren't able to do anything on that list.

Q Turning to the October 7 outline or "to do" list, which begins at page 20,000.

A Yes.

Q Returning, Mr. Conrad, before we get to the October 7 outline, to the September 30, 1985 outline, page seven. There's an entry which is under the general heading "Langhorne Washburn", item "D", "visit his sister for Spark: request $10-$15K". What does that entry mean?

A Langhorne recommended to us that we go solicit his sister for Adolfo Calero. Spark's name means Adolfo Calero.

Q Who was Langhorne Washburn?

A He was an Administration official under the Nixon

Administration, as I recall.

Q And do you know what his activities were on September 30, 1985, or what his occupation was?

A Oh, I think he's a consultant, or something.

Q Also one other question on that page six. There's an entry up there, item "E", "Southwest Cattlemen's Association list". What does that refer to?

A We wanted to get a copy of the list of members of the Southwest Cattlemen's Association.

Q Why a copy of that list?

A For prospecting.

Q Seeking prospective contributors?

A Yes.

Q Who told you that that would be a rich vein?

A That's just my own fundraising experience.

Q Had you used that list before?

A No.

Q All right. Now returning to the October "to-do" list beginning on page 20,000, there are a number of items there relating to the October 17 Washington meeting.

And under "B", the dinner, there's an item 3, "Sacher film and explanation of public diplomacy program", and then written in there is "plus statement of immediate need"

Is that writing your writing?

A Yes.

Q What does that entry mean?

A Well, this is an arrangement for the dinner, and we wanted to show the film that Fred Sacher had agreed to finance, which we did, and explain our public diplomacy program, and state the immediate needs for the public diplomacy program.

Q Now what was this film?

A Well, it was a film of the freedom fighters in the field.

Q Who had prepared the film?

A Some independent people hired by Rich Miller and Frank Gomez.

Q Had the Goodman Agency been involved in this?

A Yes. I think they edited it.

Q But Miller and Gomez had hired independent photographers?

A Am I getting this confused with another--yeah, I think they did it and Goodman edited it. So they hired some, a film crew to go down to Honduras and Nicaragua and cut the film footage, shoot the film footage.

Q What did you understand the purpose of this film was to be? What was it to be used for?

A For public education.

Q Was it to be used for television showing?

A Yes.

Q And showing at meetings such as this?

A Yes.

Q A variety of different purposes?

A Yes.

Q What was the title of the film, if there was one?

A Yeah, there was. I can't recall at the moment. I'd have to look it up.

Q But there was one particular film that Fred Sacher paid for the production?

A Yes.

Q Do you recall what he paid? Was it in excess of $100,000?

A My mind tells me $70,000, but I can't remember for sure.

Q Now there are also handwritten references on that page to the Larry McDonald Brigade. What was the Larry McDonald Brigade?

A It was a--what'd you call it?--a contingency group?--a military unit with the contras, that Adolfo Calero set up, and he just called it the Larry McDonald Brigade.

Q Why do you have these entries on this sheet relating to the Larry McDonald Brigade?

A I think we wanted to make a visit to Barbara Newington, and we wanted to take these things with us.

Q Did you make such a visit?

A At some point. We'd visit her often.

Q Did she contribute funds for the Larry McDonald Brigade?

A Yes.

Q Now on that same page, with regard to the dinner, you have an item 6, "prepare briefing packets for all attenders", and item one is "Baldizon quote documents". What is that?

A I don't remember who Baldizon is, but the "quote documents"--maybe he's somebody in Nicaragua related to the contras, something. I'm not sure, exactly. And he made statements and we wanted to get his quotes to put in our packet. From newspapers.

Q What was the nature of the quotes?

A I don't recall. I can't even recall who he is.

Q And then item 2 is "Maps to show on strategic forces during UNO speeches".

A UNO speeches.

Q UNO speeches?

A Right.

Q What is that?

A Well, during the briefing we wanted people to be able to pull out their own map and look at where the speaker was talking about.

Q So these are just small maps of Nicaragua or Honduras?

A Yes. Right.

Q So then the individual could identify the area?

A Right.

Q Now what is the next item, "MULE, M-U-L-E, aircraft brochures"?

A It's a mistyping. It's supposed to be Maule, M-a-u-l-e.

Q And were those included in the briefing packets at this October 17 meeting?

A To my recollection.

Q And what were the State Department brochures?

A Oh, we had a whole raft of them. The military buildup of the Sandinistas, and Cuban infiltration into Nicaragua, and Soviet Union providing of aid and military arms, and things to Nicaragua. All publicly available documents from the State Department. Not classified.

Q Continuing on the next page, there's a notation at the top of the page, "insert a handwritten note from RR to all $100K--and I take it that means a $100,000--plus contributors

A Yes.

Q Was that done?

A No.

Q Why not?

A It was one of the things that Rich and Frank couldn't get.

Q And then also on that page, there's a list of a number of further private meetings, is there not?

A Yes.

Q Who is Mrs. Lynch? L-y-n-c-h.

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A A Dallas, Texas contributor.

Q Who is Roz Haley? H-a-l-e-y?

A A contributor who lives in Texas, in two towns. I can't remember.

Q Who's Harry Lucas? L-u-c-a-s.

A A potential contributor.

Q From where?

A In Texas.

Q Who is Jim Bottari? B-o-t-t-a-r-i.

A I don't know whether I met him.

Q Do you know where he lives?

A I think Texas.

Q Who is Pew? P-e-w

A It's a Mrs. Pew from Dallas, Texas.

Q And Mr. Crowley?

A Mary Crowley, now deceased.

Q From Texas, again?

A Yes. Formerly wealthy.

Q Who is Margaret Brock?

A A friend of the Reagan's who lives in Los Angeles, who's active in politics.

Q Who is Mrs. Alles? A-l-l-e-s.

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A Mrs. Alles. And she lives in Florida, and a contributor.

Q Now the next item, item 2 reads, "RR, paren, (group grope)" close paren. Is that your phrase?

A No.

Q Whose phrase is that?

A Spitz Channell's.

Q What is a group grope?

A It was supposed to be a group meeting with the President.

Q Did that occur?

A No.

Q Turning to the "to-do" list dated October 12, 1985, the first page, 20061, or page 1 of the "to-do" list, at the bottom it's item 3, and again it reads "MULE--M-U-L-E--aircraft brochures", and then there's a handwritten note, "delete". That is your handwriting, is it not?

A It is.

Q What is the reason you wrote that note, "delete" there?

A I don't recall, but it's either because we had it or because we couldn't get it.

Q Did anyone tell you you should not include these brochures in the briefing packets?

A No. You know, actually now that you mention it, maybe that is what happened. I have a vague recollection that somebody said that we shouldn't. I think Frank Gomez, but I can't remember for sure. You triggered something in my memory, though.

Q Do you have any recollection of anyone giving you any reason why you should not include those brochures?

A No.

Q Turning to the next "to-do" list which is dated October 13, pages 1 through 7 of that outline contain a very detailed list of items to do in connection with an October 17 Washington briefing. And there have been similar, if less detailed items, in other of your outlines.

Who developed these detailed entries? Was this developed by you, or by Spitz, or by both of you, or--

A A combination.

Q Did anyone else contribute to this? Did Miller have any input?

A Maybe.

Q North?

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A No. Rich and Frank I think also had some input into this.

Q Now on page two there's a reference to UNO, U-N-O leaders, and, "prepare talking points for them", and then "only one point for each leader". What does that refer to?

A They were not very good speakers. This is prompting them, you know.

Q Now on page three, there's a reference in the middle of the page, "Spitz present award to Fred Sacher". What does that refer to?

A Well, we wanted to recognize Fred Sacher for contributing to the film, publicly, in front of everyone else, so--

Q What was the award?

A I don't remember. I'm sorry. I don't remember.

Q And then on down on that same page, item 13, "Commandantes present flag awards", and the individuals there are Mr. and Mrs. Warm, Ellen Garwood, and Bunker Hunt. What does that refer to?

A Well, we wanted to give flags, American flags, in a box, to various contributors.

Q Why were those three selected?

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A Because they had especially helped.

Q They contributed the most?

A Well, I don't know the most, but--

Q They'd been large contributors?

A Yeah.

Q And then on page four, item 15 is "Spitz concludes with appeal", and that's, I take it, an appeal for contributions?

A Yes.

Q And was that the usual pattern of these meetings, that there would be a meeting at the White House, and you would meet with various individuals and would have a briefing, and then you would return to the Hay-Adams Hotel and have some sort of further meeting, and then, at the conclusion of the further meeting there would be an appeal by Channell for funds?

A A "call to the alt~~e~~ar", as I prefer to phrase it, yes.

Q And that was the general pattern?

A Yes.

Q Why do you call it a "call to the alt~~e~~ar"?

A It's a religious analogy to evangelical movement, much in disgrace these days, but nevertheless works. It's where you ask sinners to be saved.

Q Now on page five, item E" is "private meetings", again, and under that there's the entry "Green" and then an entry "review agenda for private meetings with Green". What does that refer to?

A Well, it's instructions for me to have a meeting with Colonel North, and make sure that he talks about items that cost about the amount that we think we want to ask, make a request from the contributor for.

Q Was he provided with a copy of this "to-do" list?

A No.

Q Well, in this section you have Mr. Ramsey, for example, has a confirmed meeting, but you don't have any dollar amount by Mr. Ramsey.

A Yeah. As I recall, we weren't going to ask him for any money at that time, at that particular occasion.

Q What was the reason for a private meeting with Mr. Ramsey, then?

A Because he was very interested in the cause, and was following it, and came to Washington, and Spitz and he were good friends.

Q How did you determine if you would ask for money, or you would not ask for money at any particular time?

A The fundraising experience of the fundraisers.

Q Who made that determination? Channell?

A Generally, Channell.

Q And then the next entry is the Warms, and I take it underneath that, "request $96K" means $96,000?

A Yes.

Q And does your prior answer mean that you would then meet with Colonel North to come up with a list of items that totalled $96,000?

A "Come up with" is not the right word.

Q How would you phrase it?

A I would say that we told him we want to--that he should talk about items which would amount to $96,000. Or we would say that we wanted to ask them for $96,000.

t7 Q Did you have any discussions with Colonel North about the types of items that he should discuss with particular contributors?

A No.

Q That was left up to Colonel North, so far as you were concerned?

A Yes.

Q Do you know if Mr. Channell had discussions with Colonel North about the types of items he should discuss with particular contributors?

A Not to my knowledge.

Q On that same page, under the entry "Bunker Hunt", there's a notation to "tell Bunker there'll be no publicity". What does that refer to?

A Of the meeting. In other words, if Bunker attends the meeting, the press won't be all over him.

Q Turning to page eleven of that outline, which is your document, page 20875, under "VII", Administration, there's an entry, "put Bunker funds in money market account", and then, "get checks back from Rich". What does that mean?

A Bunker Hunt had sent us some money, $450,000, I believe, and half of it was a loan, and half of it was an outright gift, and we hadn't asked for a loan. It just arrived. And we were supposed to--with it came the loan document, and the check, and so we deposited the check, but we didn't sign the loan document. And we fussed around for quite some time about what to do about that. And finally we decided to put the money in a money market fund, turn interest on it, in the event that we would have to repay it to Bunker.

Q What does the entry "get checks back from Rich" mean?

A I'm forgetting, but I believe we wrote checks on the money that we deposited, originally, to our account. Wrote them to IBC, and so I needed to get them back.

Q On the same subject of the loan from Bunker Hunt, did NEPL repay that loan at some point?

A Repay the loan? We sent the money back.

Q You sent the money back?

A Yes.

Q And did you pay any interest?

A I don't think so.

MR. FRYMAN: Why don't we take a break for about ten minutes.

[Brief recess.]

MR. FRYMAN: Back on the record.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Mr. Conrad, if you would look at the "to-do" list dated October 14, 1985, particularly page one, which is your document control page 20014. There's some handwritten notes

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out to the right headed "Bunker". Do you see that?

A Yes.

Q Is that your handwriting?

A Yes.

Q Now item one is "not ask for dollars", is that correct?

A Yes.

Q What does that refer to?

A It's instructions for me to relay to Colonel North.

Q Was Colonel North going to be meeting with Mr. Bunker Hunt?

A Yes.

Q Where?

A At the White House.

Q Is that what the second item refers to, "Friday a.m. meeting at White House"?

A Yes.

Q Now who told you that he should not ask Mr. Hunt for dollars?

A Well, it's not that he shouldn't ask; it's that we weren't going to ask him for dollars.

Q Why not?

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A Well, occasionally we would give contributors daily pledge forms to fill out--I'm exaggerating to make a point--but asked them all the time, and then occasionally we would ask contributors--not ask contributors to give. We would just want to see them and "massage" them and "fluff" them, and work with them, and cultivate them. And this was one of the times where we weren't going to ask for money.

Q Who made that decision?

A Spitz.

Q Were you involved in that decision? Did you participate in it?

A Yeah, probably. I don't remember this specific thing, but I mean, we would normally discuss such things.

Q Now item three under "Bunker" reads: "UNO--U-N-O--will be here"?

A Right.

Q What does that refer to?

A The leaders, UNO leaders.

Q And were they to be present at the meeting with Bunker?

A No. They were to be present at the October 17th briefing.

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Q Why is that entry under the heading "Bunker"?

A These are items to be brought up to--relating to Bunker that need to be brought up to Oliver North.

Q Why did--

A So in other words, Oliver North is going to have a conversation with Bunker, and these are either various points he has to keep in mind while he's talking with him, or be sure to mention, or whatever. So that he was supposed to tell--Colonel North was supposed to tell Bunker that UNO leaders were going to be there, at the October 17th briefing, to encourage him to come.

Q Were these notes for a phone conversation that Colonel North was to have with Bunker Hunt?

A Yes.

Q I see. So item two is that he was to tell Bunker Hunt that there was a meeting Friday morning at the White House?

A Right.

Q Now would you read item four, and particular items "a" and "b" under four.

A Well, four says "briefing" and item "a" is "Green used plane already for private things", and "b" is "have been

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using plane for two weeks.

Q Now what does that refer to?

A Oliver North was supposed to say that he has been using a plane that was bought with Bunker's money for private deliveries, and we'd been using it for two weeks.

Q Was this the $200 and some thousand that you referred to earlier?

A Yes.

Q What sort of plane had been purchased?

A I forget the name of it. It's the big plane referred to earlier.

Q Now was does "private things" refer to there?

A I can't tell you. I don't know. Private shipments to the contras.

Q Does that refer to military equipment?

A Not to my knowledge.

Q Private shipments of some sort?

A Yes. Supplies and the like to contras.

Q Supplies purchased with private funds?

A I think so.

Q Are these words your phrases, or is this--

A No. Spitz.

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Q He gave you this langauge?

A Yes. I'm taking dictation, practically.

Q Did you discuss with Channell what was meant by the phrase "private things"?

A No.

Q Now on page seven of this outline, the entry relating to the "RR/group grope" has a line drawn through it. What is the significance of that?

A We couldn't get it. It was cancelled.

Q Was there ever such a "group grope"?

A Not with these people. The closest thing was the Pentecosts.

Q What was that?

A Mr. and Mrs. Pentecost, and Mrs. Pentecost's sister, whose name I'm blanking on at the moment, went into see the President in 1986.

Q Now if you would turn to the "to do" list dated October 16, 1985, and particularly page six, which is your document control page 26471. Under the heading "private meetings" there's again a line, "review agenda for private meetings with Green".

A Right.

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Q Does that have the same meaning as what you've described earlier?

A Yes. It's just carried over from previous "to do" lists.

Q Now under that it has "Wednesday, 2:00 to 4:00 p.m."/ There's, I gather, shown, a 3:00 o'clock meeting with Fred Sacher, and then there's an entry "bring--I take it that's "$6 million list updated"?

A Yes.

Q What does that refer to?

A A list that I saw that Colonel North had on two yellow sheets of legal-size paper.

Q Where did you see that list?

A In Dallas, Texas.

Q Was anyone else present when you saw it?

A Bunker Hunt and Oliver North, and Spitz Channell and myself.

Q Where did you see this?

A In some club.

Q Was the list shown to you?

A No. I just saw it from--you mean so I could read it?

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Q Yes.

A No.

Q Colonel North had possession of it?

A Yes.

Q What did he say about it?

A Well, he went through the list. I mean, these were the needs of the contras.

Q And the items on the list totalled $6 million?

A I think, actually, this is a mistake. If I remember right, it totalled $7 million.

Q What items were on the list, that you remember?

A Guns, Red/Eye missiles, tanks, grenades. You know. War material.

Q And this was on two sheets of yellow paper?

A Yes.

Q Was it in handwriting?

A Yes.

Q And did Colonel North show the list to Mr. Hunt to read?

A Yes.

Q Did Mr. Hunt hold the list?

A He might have. I don't recall, exactly.

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Q Did Colonel North leave the list with Mr. Hunt?

A No.

Q Took it back?

A Yes.

Q And that was a meeting in Dallas in September of 1985?

A Yes.

Q Do you know the approximately date?

A The 10th, maybe.

Q And was Mr. Hunt asked for a contribution to acquire the items on the list?

A Yes.

Q With Colonel North present?

A No.

Q Where did Colonel North go?

A To look at the stars.

Q And who made the request for a contribution?

A Spitz.

Q Do you know if it was arranged in advance, that Colonel North would present the list, and then would leave while Mr. Channell solicited a contribution?

A I told Colonel North to prepare the list.

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Q Right.

A He left on his own. That wasn't prearranged.

MS. MORRISON: May I ask a question?

MR. FRYMAN: Certainly.

MS. MORRISON: Did you tell Colonel North what to put on the list?

THE WITNESS: No.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q What did you tell Colonel North?

A I said we wanted to raise the largest amount of money we had ever raised from anybody, ever requested from anybody, and we had determined that we wanted to raise $5 million from Bunker, and that he should prepare a list of needs that added up to $5 million, and he should bring it with him. And if he should fail in this, it would be a big problem. We had to have a list of what the needs were, and I said I don't care what you put on the list, just so it totals $5 million, and we're going to ask him for the whole thing.

Q Who came up with the $5 million figure?

A Spitz.

Q Do you know how he reached that figure?

A Fundraising experience, otherwise known as picking

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something from the sky.

Q What did Mr. Hunt say in response to this solicitation by Mr. Channell on or around September 10th?

A He said "I'll think about it".

Q Did Colonel North come back to the table?

A No.

Q Did Colonel North--

A Well, I withdraw that a minute. He might have. I don't know. I wasn't there.

Q All right. Do you know if Colonel North--

A I don't think he did, but he might have.

Q Do you know if Colonel North had further discussion that day with Mr. Hunt, after Mr. Channell made the appeal for funds?

A Oh, pleasantries.

Q Pleasantries. What contribution did Mr. Hunt make after this appeal for $5 million plus dollars?

A Well, he wasn't asked for $5 million.

Q What was he asked for, seven?

A No. He was asked for a plane, I think. An airplane.

Q Was that one of the items on the list?

A Yes. Maybe two airplanes. I've forgotten, exactly. Oh, I know. It's $237,500 for each check, and what is that? $475,000. He made a mistake. I think he was asked for, if I remember correctly, $450,000. He gave--or is my mathematics off here? Yeah. And he gave 475.

Q But half of that was as a loan?

A Yes.

MS. MORRISON: So that the record is clear, I hope you heard the witness say he wasn't there during parts of this period of time.

MR. FRYMAN: Yes. I want to come back to that. But I'm confused about the amounts.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q You told Colonel North that he would have to come up with a list totalling at least $5 million--

A Right.

Q --because you had made the decision to ask for that amount--

A Yes.

Q --from Mr. Hunt?

A Yes.

Q But after the presentation of the list, you did not

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ask for the full $5 million?

A That's my understanding.

Q You were not present at that point?

A That's correct.

Q Where were you?

A Gazing at the stars with Colonel North.

Q Was this worked out in advance with Mr. Channell, that--

A No. He did it at the last minute, and surprised everyone.

Q Did what?

A Asked me to leave the room.

Q So there were the four of you at the table?

A Yes.

Q You, Mr. Channell, Mr. Hunt, and Colonel North?

A Yes.

Q And at some point he asked both you and Colonel North to leave?

A No.

Q Tell me what happened, then.

A Colonel North excused himself, first, and he left, and then we talked for a minute or two, and then Spitz asked

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me to leave.

Q And how long were you away?

A The time that they were together--you know--whatever that was.

Q Did Mr. Channell come out at some point and ask you to come back to the table?

A No.

Q How did you know when to go back?

A We didn't. They came out.

Q I see. I see. So you were out gazing at the stars with Colonel North?

A Right.

Q When Colonel North left, did he really say he was going to go look at the stars, or--

A No, no. It's on the top floor of a huge building, and they had just illuminated the night previously, a building in fluorescent--no, what is it called?--neon lights all around the building, and they'd just inaugurated it, and so we were viewing the skyline of Dallas. And it was a beautiful night and we were just chatting; nothing important.

Q Was there some prearrangement for Colonel North to leave the group at a certain point in the dinner?

A No. He did it all himself.

Q What did Mr. Channell later tell you occurred between Mr. Hunt and him when they were alone at the dinner table?

A He said he asked him--I believe he said Bunker asked him a question or two. I can't remember what the questions were. And then he requested from Bunker to fund, I think one or two airplanes that were on the list.

Q Well, did he explain why he had not asked for the $5 million contribution that you had expected to ask, in advance of the dinner?

A No. He did not.

Q Did you ask him?

A Well, he got "cold feet", and to rub his nose in that would not have been the politic thing to do, so I didn't ask.

Q To rub Channell's nose?

A Right. It was the largest contribution we had received to that date, and he was happy about that, and I was depressed at how much we didn't get.

Q Now returning to the October 16 outline, the reference to "bring the $6 million list updated" was a

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reference to bringing essentially that same list to the meeting with Mr. Sacher, is that right?

A Right.

Q Had you and Mr. Channell reached an agreement as to how much you were going to ask from Mr. Sacher as a contribution?

A I don't recall that we did. I think he was an unknown quantity to us, as to how much money he had. He's low profile.

Q So your intention was to have Colonel North review essentially the same list with Mr. Sacher that had been reviewed with Mr. Hunt?

A Yes.

Q And that was a list primarily composed of military equipment?

A Yes.

Q Do you know if Colonel North did that?

A I don't know.

Q Do you know if the meeting occurred with Mr. Sacher?

A I think so.

Q Was there a request for a contribution after the meeting?

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A Probably.

Q Do you know?

A I can't recall.

Q Do you know if the list similar to the one reviewed with Mr. Hunt was reviewed with any of the other individuals referred to on pages six and seven of this October 16 outline?

A Not to my knowledge.

Q Turning, Mr. Conrad, to the "to-do" list for October 16, 1985, and particularly the copy that has handwritten notes on it, which begins with your identification page 26466. Do you see that?

A Yes.

Q If you will look at page seven of that copy, there are references there to a Friday meeting with Bunker Hunt, and then under that, "have Green call" and then there's a line drawn through those entries. What is the significance of that?

A I believe he didn't come to the briefing at all, let alone the private meeting. He didn't come to Washington.

Q So you believe that that did not occur, a meeting at that point?

A Yes.

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Q Turning to the outline dated October 19, 1985, on the first page, which is the identification page 20208, there are a variety of handwritten notes on that page. Are those your handwritten notes?

A Yes.

Q Out on the left there's the note "Where is Rich's guarantee for Bunker". What does that mean?

A We discussed the problem of half of the amount of money, the $237,500 that we got from Bunker being a loan, and we discussed this with Rich Miller, and he said he might have a way to get that loan guaranteed if we were to sign a note. And that was a note to me to follow up, to find out whether in fact he had gotten the guarantee.

Q Did he obtain such a guarantee?

A No.

Q Now if you would turn to the next "to-do" list which is dated October 26, 1985, and particularly page five. Under the heading Roman "IX", "Rich and Frank", there's a reference to an "RR meeting with Barbara Newington" on November 7, and under that, small "i", "what to request", and two small "i's", "when to request", and three small "i's", "how to structure the visit". What do those entries mean?

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A Well, we wanted to have a private meeting with the President for Barbara Newington, and we wanted to know--this is a note asking ourselves, really, how we should structure the visit, logistically, and at what times we should request--these were questions we had to answer before she came.

Q All right.

A How much we wanted to request it and at what point should we request it, before the meeting with the President, or after.

Q Was a meeting between Mrs. Newington and the President held on November 7?

A I don't recall.

Q Was there a meeting held sometime during the fall of 1985?

A I can't tell you. I don't know.

Q Do you recall Barbara Newington coming to Washington in the fall of 1985?

A All I know, she came to Washington but I don't remember when.

Q Do you recall a meeting with her at the Hay-Adams Hotel where Colonel North appeared?

A No.

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Q You did not participate in any such meeting?

A No.

Q Going back to the entries on this "to-do" list, do you recall what decision was made with respect to what to request and when to request it?

A I don't remember the specifics. I know the questions were answered, but I don't remember what the answers were.

Q All right.

A At the time I'm sure I did, but not now.

Q Turning to item ten in that outline, "Future projects", there's an entry "Green" and under that "brochure on multiband frequency radios". What does that entry refer to?

A Colonel North said that there was a necessity for a new type of sophisticated radio system to be used by the freedom fighters in the field, and he called it a multiband frequency radio.

Q Is this a subject that he initiated with you?

A He initiated it with the whole group.

Q What was the whole group?

A The briefing. He talked about it in the briefing.

It's communications equipment.

Q And was it your intention to raise funds to purchase such radios?

A Yes.

Q And he was to provide a brochure with respect to the radios?

A No. We asked him if he could, or would.

Q Did he?

A No.

Q Did you obtain such a brochure from any other source?

A No.

Q Did you raise funds for radios?

A I think so.

Q Do you recall if those funds were raised from any particular person?

A I don't remember the specifics.

Q Now the next item is, again, an entry, "follow up with Green on World Wide Fund Raising". We've discussed this, or a similar entry with regard to a prior "to-do" list.

A It's the same entry.

Q Same entry. And it has the same significance in this?

A Yes.

Q Turning to page ten of this outline, there's a reference to a "January, 1986 Project" "to support three Senate races", and there's a further description that one race will be a "shoe-in", one a "probable loser", and then there's a reference to "three who are uncertain". What do those lines in your "to-do" list refer to?

A We wanted to act as a Federal political action committee, and we wanted to give candidates political contributions, and we were talking about the general parameters for selecting potential people for that contribution, maybe even independent expenditures. I'm not quite sure.

Q Why would you select one who's a "probably loser"?

MS. MORRISON: Maybe he likes a challenge.

THE WITNESS: Yeah. I don't know. I am not a political person.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q What's the source of these entries in your "to do" list?

A Spitz.

Q Is this something Mr. Channell gave you?

A Yes.

Q Was this project activated?

A No.

Q Why not?

A Well, it's another one of those 8 million projects that never got tended to. There was no special reason.

Q Turning to the outline for November 3, 1985, there's a portion of that outline in this exhibit, and again, there's the entry, at least of which a similar entry appeared in an earlier outline, to "have a private project to get hostages out of Beirut", and that's an entry under the heading "Green". Is there any continued significance to the fact that this entry continues to appear in the outline in November of 1985?

A No particular significance.

Q It's just carried forward from outline to outline?

A Yes. It may mean that I need to debrief with Spitz about the results of my meeting with Colonel North, and I haven't had a chance to do that.

Q Now the next item is "coordinate Green trips with requests for presentations to clubs". What does that mean?

A Colonel North was often asked to make presentations to different clubs around the United States, different clubs and organizations' meetings, and if he would let us know--the thought was if he would let us know when he had to go out of town to give these speeches in different places, we could coordinate a fundraising trip, fundraising visits, arrange private briefings for individuals who couldn't come to Washington.

Q Was that undertaken?

A No.

Q Why not?

A Same problem.

Q Just didn't get around to it?

A Right.

Q Now in your outline for November 7, 1985, it refers to a November 14 Washington meeting. Was there such a meeting?

A I think so. I mean, there was a meeting in November. I don't remember the date.

Q On the second page it refers to "special invited guests" including George Bush. Did Vice President Bush attend a White House briefing for NEPL?

A No.

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Q Why does his name appear here?

A I don't know how to answer that question. Because he's the Vice President.

Q Well, had you reason to believe that he would appear?

A Well, we hoped he would. It was a request.

Q Anything more than that?

A No.

Q And he did not?

A Right.

Q Did he appear at any of your briefings?

A No.

Q Turning to the November 16 outline on page seven. "November Objectives" for Rich and Frank include "RR meetings" with Bunker Hunt, Fred Sacher, Ellen Garwood, and David and Paula Warm. Were they selected for such meetings because they'd made substantial contributions?

A Again, as I had mentioned before, either because they had, or had potential to for the future.

Q Well, in this instance, do you know if it was because they had?

A Well, Bunker had. Fred had--I mean, it depends on what you mean by, you know, "significant contribution". You said before $300,000, and Bunker had given that much by this time, and I don't think any of the other people had.

Q Did these meetings occur? Or did meetings with President Reagan occur with these individuals?

A I think in 1986.

[Pause.]

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Exhibit 2, the first outline, or the first "to do" list is dated January 15, 1986. Now there was a large White House briefing for potential contributors on January 30, 1986, was there not?

A Yes.

Q We've gone through, Mr. Conrad, in your earlier "to do" lists, a lot of very detailed entries with regard to prior White House meetings in 1985. I do not see any similar detailed entries here with regard to the January 30, 1986 meeting, and my question is why are they not here?

A Because I didn't make them.

Q Well, why?

A By that time it was down to a system. The October 17th one was the first major one that we did. Actually, it was the second one, but, you know, we reached the perfection of what we wanted. It was only a question of fine-tuning it after that.

Q Well, was there a further reason, in January of 1986 David Fischer became involved in working for NEPL, did he not?

A Yes. I think, actually, he started in December.

Q Well, around that time.

A Whatever, yeah.

Q And he had responsibility with respect to the January 30 White House meeting, did he not?

A Yes. Actually, it was two people. David Fischer and Marty Artiano.

Q Marty Artiano. Did their involvement in the meetings beginning in January, was that a contributing factor to the absence of detailed items in your "to-do" lists with respect to the White House meetings, beginning in January?

A Well, I daresay you won't find very much there, in the way of notes regarding the briefing at the OEOB with Colonel North, on previous documents, either. In other words, the section of the meeting that they were concerned with, which was the presidential part, was under their

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management, and that's fine. I didn't have anything to do with that, particularly. I just needed to make sure it happened. And neither was I concerned with Colonel North's presentations in the October 17th briefing and in the June briefing, and in the November briefing.

I mean, I would just put on there that he's to appear.

Q So the basic reason that there's an absence of detailed entries with respect to the further briefings in these later "to-do" lists is because you had perfected a system and there was no longer a necessity for listing the detailed steps?

A Well, if you look at the previous ones, you'll see that they relate to limousines, and flowers, and, you know, guards, and all that business, which, by this time we had a system set up. The first time we did it that way, we had to look into each one of those details.

The second time, and the third time, and such, we had it down. We had regular computer printouts that we could just fill in, or, you know, I would just say to--I mean, I remember that the guards needed to be recalled, and I would just tell Angela to call the guards. I mean, everybody knew

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what was coming down, and on October 17th, and June, we didn't know, it was new to us, to do it.

Q All right. Turning to the February 22, 1986 outline, and page two of that outline. I believe there's more than one copy of the outline in there--

A If you look on page one. Or yeah, I'm sorry. The document number is what?

Q 20804. I think it's the preceding copy.

A Okay. At the top there's the entry, Roman "II", Marty Artiano, and under that "RR meetings", and again the listing of Newington, [redacted] Garwood, and then [redacted] is added, in handwriting.

A Yes.

Q Now who was Marty Artiano?

A Is an attorney, a former aide to Governor Reagan, and President Reagan.

Q And what was his role in NEPL at this point?

A To charge us lots of money.

Q For what?

A Arranging meetings with the President.

Q What did he charge you for that?

A $50,000 a pop.

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Q Is that what he told you?

A Yup.

Q When?

A December '85.

Q Where did he tell you that?

A Rich Miller's office.

Q Who was present?

A I think Rich Miller, David Fischer, Spitz Channell, myself, and Marty.

Q And the best you recall, what did Marty say?

A He said it'd be no problem to arrange these.

Q And what did he say about compensation for doing that, as best you recall his words?

A Well, I don't recall his words, but, I mean, just the substance of it was he was going to charge $50,000 a time, and we sort of gulped and said okay.

Q Did Fischer say anything?

A No. He was pretty quiet through the whole thing.

Q Did Miller say anything?

A No. He just arranged the thing, the meeting.

Q Was that the only occasion that he said to you that he could arrange meetings with President Reagan for $50,000 a meeting?

A Well, I don't know how to answer that question, but on subsequent meetings we expressed concern about the large sum of money involved in the meetings, and Marty said he thought it was very reasonable.

Q And he made that remark in connection with a discussion about the sum of money being $50,000 for a meeting with the President?

A Yes.

Q Was there ever a meeting where Artiano, and others, told you that there was not a specific charge for arranging individual meetings with President Reagan?

A Yes, I think subsequently. I think maybe after Marty--I'm not sure, exactly, the timing--but after Marty split off--David and Marty split apart--David expressed concerns about the way that that was all being handled. He felt very uncomfortable about that type of billing situation and he wanted to go on a retainer, a monthly retainer, and he would provide more than just meetings with the President.

Q How long did the arrangement of $50,000 a meeting continue?

A Well, at least--I don't know. Two to four months.

I'm not sure, exactly. I'd have to look back at the accounting records because they--$50,000 payments were made, and however many of them there were is how long it went. I just don't remember.

Q How many meetings were there with the President under this arrangement?

A That's what I'm not remembering. Somewhere between two and four.

Q What individuals do you recall met with the President under this arrangement?

MS. MORRISON: When you say "this arrangement", you mean $50,000 per visit?

MR. FRYMAN: Yes.

THE WITNESS: I'd have to look at the records. I don't recall.

MR. FRYMAN: All right.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Now also under Marty Artiano, on this "to-do" list, is an item "D", "Ross Perot, 3-10-86 meeting". What does that refer to?

A I don't really remember. I really don't. I think they were trying to arrange a meeting, but it never came out, never came off.

Q On this particular page that we're looking at, which is your control page 20804, there appears to be handwriting by more than one person on that page.

A Yes.

Q Is that correct?

A Yes.

Q Can you identify the different handwritings?

A Spitz Channell and myself.

Q Which is Mr. Channell's handwriting?

A All the handwriting there except three words are mine. I'm sorry. Are Spitz's.

Q Which are the three words that are yours?

A "Rewrite Nixon letter".

Q Everything else is Channell's?

A That's correct.

Q Now item Roman "III" refers to the Central American Freedom Program, and I believe you've indicated earlier, that that's what the Public Diplomacy Program evolved into, is that correct?

A Yes.

Q Now there's a reference there to "task force

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members" and a listing of various individuals. What does the "task force" mean?

A Well, these are all people who are involved in the Central American Freedom Program. It's actually not all of them; just some of them.

Q Who set up this task force?

A Oh, Spitz, myself. Rich Miller.

Q How did Bruce Cameron come to be on the task force?

A I think he was referred to us. I can't remember by who. I think maybe Rich Miller.

Q Does Edelman refer to a public relations firm?

A Yes.

Q And Steve Cook is the account executive--

A No, he's the manager.

Q --manager responsible for--

A For the Washington office.

Q And Alan Carrier and Debbie Messich, are they employees of Edelman?

A Yes. At that time, yes.

Q And what was Artiano's role in the task force to be?

A Well, it was not clear. He didn't participate.

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Q Who's Edie Fraser?

A She's a principal with Minor and Fraser.

Q And what was her role to be?

A Talk people to death. Try to get people to start a grass roots, letter-writing campaign, by getting other organizations in local areas to get volunteers to write letters to Congressmen.

Q Whose idea was this?

A Oh, God! I'm not sure. Spitz's, Edie's, mine, actually, maybe. It's possible.

Q Was Lichtenstein a pollster?

A No.

Q What was his role?

A He did the same thing as Edie.

Q And who was Brad O'Leary?

A Well, I never met the man. I've talked to him on the phone a couple times.

Q Where did you get his name? From Channell?

A Yes.

Q What was his role to be?

A We wanted him to arrange a dinner. That was the thinking.

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Q What was his expertise in that area, that you know of?

A He sponsored, or arranged dinners for different conservative groups. I think he ran a special event dinner in New York for Jack Kemp that raised a million dollars.

Q All right. Turning to page six of this outline, there's again the reference to the ACT Political Project. Now I take it that's the same project that was in the earlier outline that you say never was implemented?

A Yes. Right.

Q Now on page seven, under that general heading, there's a new entry to "ask Marty Artiano/David Fischer for target suggestions", and then there's a handwritten note that "Terry is better informed". First of all, is the handwritten note by Mr. Channell?

A Yes.

Q Who is Terry?

A Terry Dolan, president, former president of NCPAC.

Q Okay. Now what is the general entry about Artiano and Fischer? What does that refer to?

A We wanted to ask them to use whatever sources they had to help us identify potential target candidates, that we

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would run ou~~t~~r political program.

Q Were the target candidates candidates you would support, or ones you would oppose, when you refer to "target"?

A It depends on which candidates we're talking about. I mean, we had different criteria that we were using to evaluate different candidates. One was a "shoe-in", you recall, some were going to be losers, and some were going to be winners. So you would use different strategies in different cases.

Q But in any case, all of your ads would be ads in support of a particular candidate?

A Not necessarily.

Q You would run negative ads against certain candidates?

A Yes.

Q So a target could be both a target for support, or a target for opposition?

A Yes.

Q And you were to ask Artiano and Fischer for their suggestions in this regard?

A Yes. It's not for their suggestions; it's for them to get suggestions. They didn't know anything.

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Q Now on page ten of this same outline, I guess under the major heading Roman "IX," "Administration," which is on page eight--on page eight there's a capital "A," "Fundraising Prospects." And then under that, Arabic "2," "Prospects," and then those items under that, I take it continue over to page ten, and there's an item 19 which says "Green contact referrals." Do you see that?

A Yes.

Q And under that, there's an entry, "Roy Godson," G-o-d-s-o-n. Who is Roy Godson?

A Well, I don't know. He was a referral by Colonel North, but I never did know what he did.

Q You never met him?

A I never met him.

Q Did you ever speak with him?

A Never spoke with him.

Q Now there's the next entry, "Causa/Rich knows President." What does that refer to?

A Colonel North was recommending to us that we go ask Causa for money.

Q What is Causa?

A I don't know what it stands for. It's the Unifica-

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tion Church in the United States.

Q Did you ask them for money?

A No. Well, I'm sorry. I didn't.

Q Do you know if anyone did?

A I believe--well, I don't think anybody--Causa; no.

Q Did they contribute money?

A No.

Q Now the next item, item "C" under "Green contact referrals" is Boone Pickens.

A Right.

Q Was there a solicitation of Boone Pickens?

A No.

Q Why not?

A Well, again, it's because we weren't--the way was not smoothed for us to do that. It was like a cold prospect. I think we tried to get through and weren't successful.

Q Who was to smooth the way? Was it Colonel North?

A No. I mean, we would have wanted him to, but I mean, he didn't volunteer to, or anything. He didn't say he was going to.

Q Maybe I misunderstood, but I thought this entry indicates that he referred these contacts to you.

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A Yes. Yes, he did.

Q So he referred Boone Pickens to you?

A Yes. But that doesn't mean he knew him. I mean, he might have known him. I don't know.

Q It's just a name he mentioned?

A Right. Why don't you try this; why don't you try that. That sort of thing.

Q In any case, nothing was done with respect to seeking a contribution from Boone Pickens, so far as you know?

A I believe we tried to contact him and weren't successful.

MR. FRYMAN: I believe this is a good breaking point for the day. Why don't we go off the record.

[Whereupon, at 5:21 p.m., the deposition was adjourned.]

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I have read the foregoing 190 pages, which contain a correct transcript of the answers made by me to the questions therein recorded. with incorporation of one page of corrections.

Daniel Lynn Conrad
DANIEL LYNN CONRAD

- - -

Subscribed and worn to before me this _________day of ____________________, 1987.

____
Notary public in and for:

My commission expires:

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CERTIFICATE OF NOTARY REPORTER

I, Terry Barham, the officer before whom the foregoing deposition was taken, do hereby certify that the witness whose testimony appears in the foregoing deposition was duly sworn by me; that the testimony of said witness was taken by me and thereafter reduced to typewriting by me or under my direction; that said deposition is a true record of the testimony given by said witness; that I am neither counsel for, related to, nor employed by any of the parties to the action in which this deposition was taken; and, further, that I am not a relative or employee of any attorney or counsel employed by the parties hereto, nor financially or otherwise interested in the outcome of the action.

Terry Barham

Terry Barham, notary public in and
for the District of Columbia

My commission expires May 15, 1989.

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10/9/87

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Corrections to testimony of Daniel Lynn Conrad

p.125 l. 20 "objective" not "objection"?

p.144 l. 1 "California" not "Florida".

p. 185 l. 4 delete "Talk people to death."

p.185 l. 9 delete "Oh, God!"

given June 10, 1987

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SELECT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE COVERT
ARMS TRANSACTIONS WITH IRAN
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATES
AND
SELECT COMMITTEE ON SECRET MILITARY ASSISTANCE
TO IRAN AND THE NICARAGUAN OPPOSITION
UNITED STATES SENATE

- - -

Thursday, June 12, 1987

Washington, D.C.

Continued deposition of DANIEL LYNN CONRAD, taken on behalf of the Select Committees above cited, pursuant to notice, commencing at 9:28 a.m. in Room 901 of the Hart Senate Office Building, before Terry Barham, a notary public in and for the District of Columbia, when were present:

For the House Select Committee:

THOMAS FRYMAN, Esq.
Staff Counsel

4170

SPENCER OLIVER, Esq.
Associate Counsel

KEN BUCK, Esq.
Assistant Minority Counsel

Partially Declassified/Released on 1-11-88
under provisions of E.O. 12356
by N. Menan, National Security Council

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For the Senate Select Committee:

THOMAS McGOUGH, Esq.
Associate Counsel

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P R O C E E D I N G S

Whereupon,

DANIEL LYNN CONRAD

resumed as a witness and, having been first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

EXAMINATION BY COUNSEL FOR THE

HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE (resumed)

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Mr. Conrad, if you would look again at Deposition Exhibit 2 for identification, and if you would turn to the outline in that volume dated March 8, 1986. Roman II on that outline is headed "Bruce Cameron/Penn Kemble," and under that, there are three specific items, "ad in Washington Post" is the first. The second is "Congressional Public Debate," and the third is "Doctors for Press Conference."

What do those entries refer to?

A (Witness peruses document.)

Well, the "ad in the Washington Post" refers to an ad which Penn Kemble's organization -- I'm forgetting the name of it for the moment --

Q Would that be "PRODEMCA"?

A Yes. Thank you. -- which PRODEMCA sponsored, ran

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in the Washington Post.

Q Well, let me back up, let me back up a minute. Who is Penn Kemble?

A He is the Executive Director of PRODEMCA.

Q Does he also have a position with an organization called Center for Democracy in the Americas?

A I am not sure exactly. He is connected with a lot of things, but I do not know all -- what the names are.

Q You know him as being associated with PRODEMCA, primarily?

A Yes.

Q Who is Bruce Cameron?

A He is with another organization, also which I do not remember at the minute. He is a lobbyist.

Q Now, how did Bruce Cameron and Penn Kemble happen to be included in your "To-Do List"?

A As I recall, Rich Miller introduced them to us.

Q For what purpose?

A To get them involved in our Central American Freedom Program.

Q What was their role to be?

A Well, Bruce's role, I do not know what it was to be

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in the beginning, but what it ended up -- I mean I do not remember what it was supposed to be in the beginning, but Bruce Cameron was doing lobbying for us and I am -- Penn Kemble was an authority on the area. I have forgotten exactly what his role was supposed to be -- he did not do very much; just ran the ad and talked to us about the problem in Nicaragua.

Q And Cameron did lobbying for you in connection with the votes on Nicaragua aid in the Congress in 1986?

A Yes.

Q You say Kemble did not do very much?

A I'm not remembering all the things he did. All I remember is the -- I remember several luncheons with him, and I remember the ad, but I do not even remember the other two entries on there.

Q It is your recollection that Rich Miller introduced Cameron and Kemble to the NEPL organization?

A Yes.

Q Do you know if Oliver North was involved in introducing Cameron and Kemble to NEPL?

A I haven't any idea. Not to my knowledge.

Q All right. Now, the ad in the Washington Post, what

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was the subject matter of that ad?

A Democrats who support the President's policy in Nicaragua.

Q Who sponsored the ad?

A PRODEMCA.

Q What is the reason that there is an entry in your To-Do List with respect to that ad?

A We talked to them about it, you know. I don't know how to answer the question.

Q Did you pay for it?

A We made a grant to them, to PRODEMCA.

Q For the ad?

A Well, it was not specifically for the ad.

Q What was the purpose of the grant?

A I think they made -- I am very -- not specific on this. I have to look at my documents, my other documents besides this. As I recall, they made a proposal to us, a written proposal, and requested a grant. I cannot remember the -- they made several proposals to us, and I do not remember which one in particular we made the grant in response to.

Q You considered Kemble a knowledgeable source of information about Central America?

A Yes.

Q Did you view Kemble as having a role in the lobbying effort?

A Well, not really. I mean maybe a little bit.

Q Cameron was the person --

A Cameron was the main person.

Q All right. What is the entry here, the purpose for the entry there, "Congressional Public Debate"?

A I have no recollection.

Q And the third entry, "Doctors for Press Conference"?

A Well, Penn was going to get some doctors for a press conference, but I cannot remember the purpose of the press conference, and who the doctors were, for that matter. I mean where they -- I just do not remember. I'm sorry.

Q If you would turn to the next page in that outline, Mr. Conrad, there is a heading, "Roman IV. Central American Freedom Program," and under that, there is a description, or there is an entry for "Task Force Members," and then there are a number of names who are apparently included in the task force.

Who established this task force?

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A (Witness peruses document.)

Well, that is a good question. I do not know how to answer that question.

Q What did you mean by "task force"?

A Well, it was my term. As far as I know, no one else used it. It is people who attended a weekly meeting at Rich Miller's, at IBC, to coordinate the Central American Freedom Program.

Q Now, Cameron is on the Task Force; is that correct?

A Yes.

Q And Kemble is on the Task Force; is that correct?

A Yes.

Q And they were introduced, I believe you have testified, to your organization by Miller?

A Yes.

Q Now, the first entry on the Task Force is Edelman and after that, the name of Steve Cook.

A Yes.

Q What is "Edelman"?

A It is a public relations firm.

Q Was Steve Cook the local manager of that firm?

A Yes.

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Q And was he responsible for that firm's work with you?

A Yes.

Q What was that firm's responsibility with your organization, in connection with the Central American Freedom Program?

A Well, I would have to go back and review my records to be able to tell you precisely, because I do not -- I mean they're a public relations firm.

Q That is understood; but in general, were they doing public relations type work for you in connection with the Central American Freedom Program?

A Yes.

Q Was that firm introduced to your organization by Miller?

A No.

Q How did you establish contact with them?

A I think we had maybe a dozen public relations firms that we talked with to -- they came to the office and we made a presentation to them, saying what we wanted. They went away and made a presentation -- developed a presentation to make to us on how they fulfill on it. We selected Edelman on

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the basis of a competition, if you will, between these 12 -- or I do not know if I have the number correct, but several public relations firms.

Q Who is "we" who made the selection?

A Rich Miller, Spitz Channell and myself.

Q Had you had any prior association with the Edelman firm?

A No.

Q Do you know if Mr. Channell had?

A No.

Q Now, returning to the list of Task Force members, Marty Artiano was also included there, and I believe you have previously testified that Mr. Miller introduced him to your organization.

A Yes.

Q The next name is Edie Fraser, and I believe her name has come up previously. She had been involved in the Nicaraguan Refugee Fund dinner?

A Yes.

Q She was an owner of the firm Miner and Fraser?

A Yes.

Q What was her role to be in this Task Force?

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A Grass roots, letter writing, organizing the grass roots letter writing.

Q Who selected her to be a member of the Task Force?

A I do not recall.

Q You had worked with her on the Refugee Fund dinner?

A Yes.

Q Had you been satisfied with her work?

A She had her strengths, certainly.

Q Well, that was not my question. Had you been satisfied with her work?

A I do not know how to answer that question.

Q You could try yes or no.

MS. MORRISON: Maybe it's not that easy.

THE WITNESS: I was satisfied with some aspects of her work.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q And dissatisfied with other aspects?

A Yes.

Q What was Mr. Channell's view of her work on that dinner?

A You will have to ask him.

Q Are you aware of his view?

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A I'm not sure I am.

Q Did he ever say anything to you about her work?

A The way you are putting the question, it is very hard for me to answer.

Q Let me, then, ask another question and put this question directly. Who decided to bring her into this Task Force?

MS. MORRISON: He said he did not recall.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q I will ask it again.

A Well, I am not sure. I will phrase it that way?

Q Did Miller?

A I really do not remember.

Q All right. Who is Jack Lichtenstein?

A He is -- gosh, what is he? I guess he is a consultant.

Q With respect to what?

A Well, he does a variety of things. I am not even sure I know them all. We retained him to do grass roots letter writing organizing.

Q Why was he selected?

A At the recommendation of Rich Miller.

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Q So the members of the Task Force that you have listed here, Cameron, Kemble, Artiano and Lichtenstein, were selected at the suggestion of Miller?

A Say that again -- I am sorry.

Q Cameron, Kemble, Artiano and Lichtenstein were selected at the suggestion of Miller?

A Well, they were introduced to us --

Q Oh, they were introduced by Miller?

A Yes.

Q Fraser -- you had previously known Fraser, and you do not know why she was selected to be a member of the Task Force?

A I cannot recall.

Q And Edelman was selected as a result of a competition among various firms and bid proposals?

A Right. That is correct.

Q Now, the names under Edelman, Carrier, Messick -- are they employees of the Edelman firm?

A Yes.

Q What is the reference to "weekly video summary"?

A One of the things that they did, as a public relations firm, was to make a summary of -- on video tape, of all the -- I think this is right -- of all the videos, video plays.

We were sending up B-roll footage on a satellite, and they were doing it from the New York office, and they were summarizing all the places that it got placed, all the -- what do you call it -- TV stations where it was played, and the times and everything.

Q You used the phrase "B-roll footage." What is that?

A Well, it is a technical PR term. I do not know what it stands for, but it means we would send -- how do I explain this -- it is like a video news release. A normal news release is written on paper, and you send it out. A video news release would be someone speaking, or action shots, or whatever. It would be sent up by satellite, and anybody who has a dish to receive it, TV station, can record it, and then they can use it in their news.

Q And then the Edelman firm would give you a weekly summary of the local plays of this material?

A Yes.

Q Turning to the March 15 outline, and if you would turn to item Roman XIII, which begins on Page 9, it is headed "Fund Raising Prospects." Under that there is an entry,

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capital letter "B. General Prospects," and Number 101 is the [redacted]"

What is the reason for the inclusion of that person on this list?

A I thought he might be a good prospect.

Q How did you know of him?

A Edie Fraser had mentioned him at the Nicaraguan Refugee Fund dinner as a prospect.

Q What did she say about him?

A She said she thought -- I think the first time I heard her comment on him, that she thought he might give a large sum of money -- I have forgot how much, $50,000 or $100,000 -- I also remember a million dollars floating around as a number -- but that he would be a good prospect for a large contribution.

Q Did she indicate her source of knowledge about [redacted]

A No.

Q All she said is that he was a potential source for a large contribution?

A I think she phrased it that she could get a large contribution from him.

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Q And that comment by her to you had occurred about the time of the Refugee Fund dinner?

A Yes.

Q That had been in April of 1985?

A Yes.

Q When did you first include [redacted] in your To-Do List?

A I do not know. I would have to look in her and see.

Q Well, this one is for March 15, 1986. Would you turn to the preceding one of March 8, and I guess [redacted] appears on Page 9 of that one.

A (Witness peruses document.)

Q So you pointed out that [redacted] at least appears as early as January 15 of 1986.

A Well, it could have been earlier. We could look in the earlier books, as well. It has been carried over for a long time.

Q Do you recall if you included [redacted] in your list? Let me rephrase that question.

When you started making these lists, am I correct that you recalled that she had mentioned [redacted] as a possible source?

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A Yes.

Q And that is what prompted you to include his name on the list?

A Yes.

Q Now, had you been aware, or were you ever aware, until it appeared in press reports, that individuals in the Administration had spoken to [redacted] about a contribution?

A No.

Q Now, Entry 13, on Page 10 of the March 15 outline, is Boone Pickens and that, again, has the parenthetical reference "(Greene contract referral)." We spoke earlier about Boone Pickens, and I believe you testified that he was an individual that Colonel North had known of.

A Yes.

Q But you did not believe he had any sort of personal relationship with Pickens.

A As far as I know.

Q Did that remain true as of March 15, 1986, when you made this entry?

A As far as I know. He's never -- I mean I never heard from him that he --

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Q Why did you call him a "Greene contact"? I just do not understand that phrase, "Greene contract referral."

A Oh. It means my -- I got it through a contact with Greene.

Q Colonel North?

A Yes. In other words, it is not -- I understand the dilemma here, but it does not mean that it is Greene's contact. It means that I got it through.

Q All right. Now, item Roman XIV is "Administration," and under that you have, again, Number 19 on Page 12, which says, "Roy Godson," and then again a parenthetical reference. "(Greene contract referral)."

What is the reason for the appearance of Mr. Godson's name there?

A Well, this entry is a carryover from previous entries.

Q Right.

A So maybe your question is, "How did it get there the first time?" but I think you asked me that before.

Q Well, let me ask you again. I will try not to repeat things --

A No, no. I am not quarreling with your right to ask

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me multiple questions. I am merely wondering -- I mean the answer is not any different from before, because when it originally appeared on there was when he mentioned it to me.

Q I am not clear yet on what Mr. Godson's role was to be with respect to the subject of administration. You enter his name under the general heading "Administration," and then under that there is a subheading "ACT/NEPL Administration."

A Well, the way we were handling this was not to call him directly. We had asked Rich Miller to contact Roy Godson to set up an appointment for us. And he did that, and it did not happen. Roy didn't want to meet with us. So, actually, it should have been -- it shouldn't have been under "Administration," it should have been under "Rich and Frank."

Q I am still no^t^ clear, Mr. Conrad, -- and maybe this is my fault, but I am still not clear why you wanted to meet with him.

A Well, I do not know -- to be frank, I cannot remember, I cannot remember the original reason that Colonel North told us to get in touch with him. I just do not remember. But it never happened.

Q What did you understand Mr. Godson's position to be at this time?

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A Actually, I don't know if I have ever known.

Q Have you ever met him?

A No.

Q Do you know if Mr. Channell has ever met him?

A I do not know if he has.

Q He never indicated to you that he had, Mr. Channell?

A Well, not to my recollection.

Q The number besides Mr. Godson's name, [redacted] is that what you understand to be his home number?

A I guess. That is why I have it there.

Q If you would turn to the next outline, March 31, 1986, and turn to Page 6, which begins with a Roman X, "Greene," and under that, the letter "B" again appears, "Roy Godson," and there is a different phone number, [redacted]. Do you recall why the number changed?

A (Witness peruses document.)

Obviously, I did not correct my own records, because on page 15 of that same outline, Item 21, I carry the other phone number along with it. The phone number on page 7 was given to me by, I believe, Fawn Hall, and I did not correct it from before. I do not know where I got the phone number before.

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Q Okay. What is the reason, then for the second entry for Mr. Godson on Page 7?

A It came as a result of a meeting that I had with Colonel North.

Q And that occurred between March 15 and March 31, 1986?

A Apparently.

MR. McGOUGH: Let me just interject -- are you speaking of the "International Lawyer in Geneva" entry?

MR. FRYMAN: Yes. The entry at the top of the page, "B. Roy Godson."

MR. McGOUGH: Oh, I am sorry. When you said, "The second entry," you mean the second entry of the name "Roy Godson." I wasn't sure what entry you were referring to. Obviously, Mr. Conrad knew; I just didn't.

MR. FRYMAN: There is a second entry that he has referred to that is on Page 15, which is the carryover from the prior outline.

MR. McGOUGH: Right. So when you said, "second entry," what you meant was the entry of the name "Roy Godson" on Page 7?

MR. FRYMAN: That is correct.

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BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Now, this entry was a result of a meeting you had with Colonel North, you believe between March 15 and March 31, 1986?

A Yes.

Q What did he say about Roy Godson in that meeting?

A Well, I do not recall.

Q What was the reason you made this entry on Page 7, under the heading "X. Greene"?

A (Witness peruses document.)

Well, I have a problem here, because I cannot -- I did not remember, at the time he told me, why I was writing it down. I went to Rich Miller subsequently and I said, "I do not know why Colonel North is referring these people to us." He said, "Don't worry about it. I will check in with him to find out about it."

Q And what happened?

A Nothing happened.

Q Now, beside Mr. Godson's name, there is some handwriting in a box that appears to be "International lawyer in Geneva."

A Yes.

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Q Is that your handwriting?

A Yes.

Q What does that refer to?

A Colonel North -- this is in the context of worldwide fundraising and setting up an English foundation, British foundation, and I was interested in finding out how we could go about this. I said -- I was not sure we were going about it properly, because our attorneys did not know a lot about international foundations, and he said, "Well, when you get finished with setting it up, or the plan for setting it up, whatever, or if you do not have any luck in setting it up, I might refer you to an international lawyer in Geneva."

Q Well, now who is "he"?

A Colonel North.

Q All right. Why is that entry by Mr. Godson's name?

A I was just taking notes in that area.

Q You do not believe that refers to Godson?

A No.

Q Turn to the April 5, 1986, outline, particularly Pages 8 and 9. At the bottom of Page 8, you have an entry, "See Roy Godson," and then a subentry under that, "1. Maybe Greene will refer us to an international lawyer in Geneva."

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A (Witness peruses document.)

Yes.

Q Now, the fact that the reference to an international lawyer is a subentry to the name Roy Godson suggests, does it not, that the reference to an international lawyer has some relation to Mr. Godson?

A It appears that way from the outline, but I do not recall any such relationship.

Q You have no recollection of ever meeting Mr. Godson?

A No.

Q Have you ever spoken with him on the phone?

A No. Well, wait a minute. Maybe I did speak with him on the phone one time. No, wait a minute -- I am getting him confused with Rob Owen, who I did speak with one time on the phone, and then I later met once.

Q Were you aware that Mr. Godson had been involved in fundraising efforts for entities in Nicaragua?

A I am sorry; say that again.

Q Were you aware that Mr. Godson had been involved in fundraising efforts for entities in Nicaragua?

A No.

Q No one ever told you that?

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A No.

Who did you say, again? Godson?

Q Yes.

A No. No.

Q So returning to the March 31 outline, Page 7, the reference to "international lawyer in Geneva" in your handwriting, you believe, is a note of a conversation you had with Colonel North?

A Yes.

Q Now, is there any significance to the fact that you drew a box around that entry?

A No.

Q You have boxes around some entries, and others you do not have boxes around.

A My idiosyncrasies.

Q There appears to be a line, to the left-hand side of the box, surrounding "international lawyer in Geneva"?

A Yes.

Q Is there any significance to that?

A (No response.)

Q The line appears to be drawn toward the entry "Roy Godson," appears to me to be. Does that also appear to you

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to be the case?

A Well, it is just the way I take notes. I mean I do not know how to put that, else.

Q Looking at that box and that line, does that refresh your recollection that that entry relates to Roy Godson in some way?

A (Witness peruses document.)

Well, it may relate to it, but I do not recall what the relationship is if, indeed, there is one.

Q Why did you ask, or why did you discuss with Colonel North the subject of a European lawyer?

A I do not think I did.

Q Well, I think you said that these are notes of a conversation that you had with Colonel North, and he mentioned an international lawyer in Geneva.

A Yes, but I did not. I did not ask him.

Q How did the subject come up?

A Oh, as I said before, in the context of us wanting to -- we had a -- what do you call it -- a plan, thought -- something that was never acted on -- to set up a foundation outside of this country.

Q Well, in this conversation with Colonel North, did

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he raise, on his own, the subject of an international lawyer in Geneva, or is it a subject that you brought up in the conversation?

A He raised it.

Q Do you know what prompted him to raise the subject?

A I have no idea.

Q Had he been aware of your plans for the worldwide fundraising?

A That was -- the subject matter that I was discussing with him was our plan, and I wanted to get -- what do you call it -- his opinion about how -- were we doing this correctly, and I did not know, and I was not sure who our advisers were.

Q What did you think -- why did you think Colonel North would have any greater expertise in international fundraising than you would have?

A Well, I did not.

Q Then why were you raising the subject with him?

A Because I thought he had expertise in things international, which we did not.

Q Why did you think he had expertise in things international?

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A Because he was flying around the country -- flying around the world all the time.

Q Did he recommend a lawyer in Geneva?

A No.

Q Ever?

A No.

(Interruption to proceedings.)

T1S2

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Did he ever mention Mr. Zucker to you?

A I have never heard the name.

Q Also in this March 31, 1986, outline, Mr. Conrad, on Page 2 --

A On which outline?

Q On the March 31, 1986, outline, on Page 2, which is under the general heading of "Artiano and Fischer," there is an entry for, first, an "RR letter," and then a "Greene letter of recommendation for Wesley Smith."

Who was Wesley Smith?

A He was a researcher.

Q He worked for NEPL?

A I think -- he did at one time; at this time, no.

Q And this is a letter of recommendation for law

UNCLASSIFIED

school?

A Yes.

Q Did you get such a letter from Colonel North?

A No.

Q Was a draft submitted for Colonel North's signature?

A I am not sure if that ever was done. If so, I did not do it.

Q The next entry there is "RR meetings," under "Artiano and Fischer," and the names of Garwood, Bunker Hunt, Patty Beck and May Dougherty King. Was that meetings with the President that you sought to have arranged?

A Yes.

Q Did you understand these meetings were to be under the financial arrangement you described that had been worked out with Mr. Artiano and Mr. Fischer?

A I cannot recall at this date which monetary thing was in -- which monetary arrangement was in force. I would have to look at my other records.

Q One monetary arrangement was $50,000 a meeting?

A Yes.

Q What was the other one?

A $20,000 a month retainer, and it just included all

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kinds of activities.

Q Including setting up meetings with the President?

A Yes.

Q Returning, on Page 6, to the entries with respect to Greene or Colonel North, the first entry is, "Get background information packet on Saudi arms sale from Greene," and then there is a handwritten note, "Ollie, work with Jim to get unclassified package together."

I take it, that is your handwriting?

A Yes.

Q What does that entry refer to?

A The typewritten or the handwritten?

Q Well, do they both refer to the same thing?

A Well, the "A" was a request by us to get some information on a proposed sale of arms to Saudi Arabia, and we had attending a briefing in the White House on that subject.

Q What was your interest in that subject?

A We were considering it for a possible program that we might do.

Q What does the handwritten note refer to ?

A My notes with Colonel North, a meeting with Colonel

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North, and he said he would work with Jim, who I do not remember at the minute who that is, to get a unclassified package of information together on the arms, so we could decide whether or not we wanted to do the program.

Q All right. Now also under the section "Greene," there is an item "D," which reads "Will recommend executive director for Western Goals."

Were you asking Colonel North to recommend an executive director for Western Goals?

A Yes.

Q Why were you asking him?

A We were thinking that we wanted to have a European person to be the executive director but be resident in the United States, and we thought he might know somebody.

Q Did he recommend someone?

A No.

Q What is the handwritten note -- is it "Sven Kraemer," S-V-E-N, K-R-A-E-M-E-R?

A Yes.

Q What does that refer to?

A Well, he works at the National Security Council, and we wanted to discuss with him SDI.

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Q That note is not related to the note concerning an executive director for Western Goals?

A No.

Q On that same page you have another handwritten note which reads, "O'Boyle: Douglas process for oil extraction from low producing wells." What does that entry refer to?

A Colonel North said the next time I spoke with Bill O'Boyle I might mention to him that he knew someone -- he, Colonel North, knew someone who had a technique for getting oil out of low producing wells, called the "Douglas process," and if O'Boyle was interested, he would put him in touch with the guy.

Q Did you speak to O'Boyle about that?

A I did not -- I asked -- at that time I did not know what O'Boyle's oil business was about. I mean I did not know what kinds of wells he had and what kind of extraction he was involved in, and this and that. And after -- I did discuss with him the nature of his wells, and it turns out that he was not interested in this particular process.

Q Did Colonel North indicate to you the source of his knowledge about this Douglas process?

A No.

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Q How did the subject com up in this meeting?

A Out of the sky. I mean it was not preceded by anything nor was it followed by anything. It just arose. He brought it up.

Q Now, Item E there reads, "Call Dick Stone (banker), contributor prospect." Who is Dick Stone?

A I guess he is a banker.

Q Do you know?

A I haven't any idea.

Q Where did you get the name?

A From Ollie North.

Q Do you know if Dick Stone had been, at one time, a member of the U.S. Senate?

A I haven't any idea.

Q Was this a name that Colonel North was giving to you for you or someone in your organization to call?

A Yes.

Q What is the note under that, refer to, which reads, "Have Fawn call him first," and then, "Have Ollie."

A It means, "Have Fawn have Ollie call him first."

Q What was the purpose of that call to be?

A So that he would take -- so that Dick Stone would

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take the call from us.

Q But you had no idea who he was, other than he was a banker?

A That is right.

Q Under that is Item F, "Calls to make," and there is a list of several individuals. Are these calls that Colonel North was suggesting that you make, or someone in your organization?

A No.

Q What does that entry indicate then?

A It is calls that he is supposed to make. Colonel North is supposed to make those calls.

Q Well, as I understand a number of these items under this general entry, Mr. Conrad, these are things that Colonel North is telling you to do; such as Item E, you are to call Dick Stone.

I am not quite clear of the organization of this item. Is this a combination of things Colonel North is to do, that you are asking him to do, and a combination of things that he is asking you to do?

A It is a combination.

Q Item G is a "Trip to Dallas and Corpus Christi."

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Did that trip occur?

A No.

Q Why not?

A I have no idea.

Q Going back to F, you were suggesting then that Greene call Garwood, Ramsey and David and Paula Warm?

A Yes.

Q What was the reason for those calls?

A Part of a thank-you process.

Q Then out to the left, there is a further handwritten note, "Calls," and that has "Ramsey, Garwood, Bunker and Giddens," and then Bill O'Neil's name in a box. What is the reason for those notes?

A Well, as I recall, they were phone calls for Ollie to make, and he indicated that he had already talked to Ramsey.

Q Is that the significance of the check mark?

A Yes.

Q Over on the right-hand side of that page, there is a name -- is that "Sasakawa"?

A Yes.

Q What does that mean?

A He is the wealthiest man in Japan.

Q Did Colonel North mention his name to you?

A No.

Q Why is that entry there then?

A I wanted him to -- we wanted to go solicit Mr. Sasakawa in Japan, and we wanted to bring Sasakawa to meet with the President. And we wanted to check before we went into that whole process whether there were any problems with Sasakawa because we did not know him, so we asked Ollie and he said he would check on it.

Q What happened?

A I later found out that Sasakawa had -- I think they put it "Mafia connections" in Japan and, therefore, he could not meet the President, so we did not go to Japan.

Q You learned that from Colonel North?

A I think Fawn Hall told me.

Q Now, under the name SasaKawa, there is some additional writing, which I believe is in your handwriting; is that correct?

A Yes.

Q Would you read that for the record?

A It says, "Congressman from middle Texas re

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contributor prospect."

Q What is in the next entry?

A "Secretary of State referral re Abrams."

Q What does the first entry with regard to the Congressman from middle Texas refer to?

A Colonel North said that there was a Congressman from middle Texas, whose name he could not remember, who had a contributor prospect who we should solicit, and I should remind him so that he could follow up on it and get the name.

Q Did you?

A Yes, but I never got the name.

Q That was the end of that matter?

A Yes.

Q What does the next item refer to, "Secretary of State referral re Abrams"?

A Colonel North said that the Secretary of State had been at a meeting -- function, I don't know, something, -- and a contributor prospect had come up -- a person had come up to the Secretary of State and said, "I am interested in giving money to the Freedom Fighters in Nicaragua," and he was referred to Elliott Abrams. And Colonel North said that he had told someone -- I do not know who -- to call us and

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give us the name of the person so that we could follow up on it.

Q So the potential contributor had spoken to the Secretary of State?

A That is what I was told.

Q The Secretary of State had spoken to Mr. Abrams?

A Yes.

Q Mr. Abrams had spoken to Colonel North?

A Well, that is unclear. That is fuzzy in my head.

Q But in some way or other, there was a communication between Mr. Abrams' office and Colonel North's office?

A Yes.

Q Then Colonel North raised the matter with you?

A Well, just to tell me -- just to notify me that when I got a strange phone call from somebody, saying that they had been referred by, I guess, the State Department or whatever, that we would know what it was about.

Q All right. Did you ever speak with Mr. Abrams about such a contributor?

A No.

Q I take it, you never spoke with Secretary Schultz about such a contributor?

A No.

Q We will come back to that item later on.

On the preceding page of that outline, on Page 6, Mr. Conrad, there is an entry with regard to the heading, "Terrorism Film," which states, "Develop concept for new film: (Greene's strategy, turn terrorists factions against each other, like Mafia in-fighting.)" What does that refer to?

A Well, I am vague on the details of it, but it is basically, we wanted to do a new film, and this was -- who needs a new film on terrorism? I mean there is 8 billion of them, so we wanted to have a new strategy for the film, a concept for the film. We asked Colonel North what he thought we should do, and he told us.

Q Was this something you discussed with him on more than one occasion?

A Possibly. I do not recall the frequency with which we did it.

Q What developed out of these discussions? Was there such a film made?

A No.

Q Was any action, further action, taken toward developing such a film?

A Oh, I think we had the advertising film firm that we used, Robert Goodman Agency, prepare a treatment.

Q And that was it?

A Yes.

Q Now, moving ahead to the April 5 outline again -- well, let me just ask you one further question on the March 31 outline. I am sorry, go back again to Page 7.

There is a reference to Rob Owen there which, I take it, is in your handwriting?

A Yes.

Q What is the basis for that reference?

A As I mentioned before, I do not recall -- I did not recall at the time, I mean immediately after the meeting, why he was being mentioned to me, and I asked Rich Miller to find out.

Q And Rich said?

A He would.

Q What did he say to you?

A Basically, that Roy Godson did not want to meet with us, and I have forgotten what he said about Rob Owen. But anyway, nothing ever happened with either of them.

MR. McGOUGH: Could I interject just one second and ask one question?

The notes that are on that page, are those notes taken during a meeting with Colonel North?

THE WITNESS: Yes.

MR. McGOUGH: On your To-Do List -- you are sitting there with a To-Do List and as he is saying things to you, you are scribbling them on the list?

THE WITNESS: To-Do Lists are an essential part of my life.

MR. McGOUGH: I understand. But these are notes taken contemporaneously with a discussion with Colonel North?

THE WITNESS: Yes.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q And Mr. Miller came back to you and said that Mr. Godson did not want to meet with you?

A Yes.

Q Did he explain why?

A If I recall, it was because we were conservatives and he was not.

Q Also, while we are still on the March 31 outline, returning again to Page 6 to the subject of the terrorism film, there is a reference there to meeting with Terry Arnold and Neil Livingston, referred by Greene. What was their role to be in this film?

A Oh, I do not know that they were going to have any role in it. The thought was, at the time, -- my thought -- was that they might be able to help us to put it together, conceptually.

Q Why did you think they would be able to help?

A Because they were experts on terrorism.

Q All right. Now, turning again to the April 5 outline, Page 9, Item K is "Secretary of State contributor referral, see Elliott Abrams."

Was that entry drawn from your handwritten note on the preceding outline?

A Yes.

Q And we have already talked about Item C-1 at the top, "Maybe Greene will refer us to an international lawyer in Geneva," and that is also similar to a handwritten note on your earlier outline.

A Yes.

Q And you do not recall, at this point, how that entry is related to Roy Godson, if at all?

--

A Oh, no, I do not.

(Pause.)

Q Turning to the April 14 outline, Entry Roman III is "David Fischer."

A Page?

Q Page 5. Under that, there is an entry, capital "C. RR Meetings," and under that is "Bunker Hunt, Patty Beck and May Dougherty King."

Beside their names is a handwritten note which appears to read, "DLC to privately discuss with David." Whose handwriting is that?

A Spitz Channel.

Q What does that refer to?

A It refers to Item D, the RR meeting with CRC and DLC to discuss Future of Conservatism Study."

Q It does not refer to Item C?

A No.

Q How do you know that?

A Because there is a line drawn -- there is a circle drawn around the D.

Q Why was that a subject that was to be discussed privately with David?

A Because we wanted to -- the Future of Conservatism Study, we wanted to involve -- we wanted to have the President make an address at a conference that we wanted to hold on the Future of Conservatism, and we were going to do a study first, called The Future of Conservatism, which would be a polling of well known conservatives. And we wanted to have David arrange to get us in to show the results of the study to the President.

Q But again, I am not clear why this is something that had to be privately discussed with David. Is there any significance to the phrase, "Discuss privately with David"?

A The only significance is that I was the chief liaison, increasingly, with -- I mean it did not start out this way but it ended up this way, with David Fischer, and so in other words, this was a note not to discuss this in a public meeting.

Q All right.

A So that when I had private meetings with him, I needed to discuss it.

MR. FRYMAN: Why don't we take a break for five minutes.

T2S1 (Whereupon, a brief recess was taken.)

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BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Mr. Conrad, turning to the April 21 outline, on Page 1 which is your control number Page 20536, there are a number of handwritten notes out to the left. Are those notes in your handwriting?

A Yes.

Q Now, those notes include a reference to Bunker Hunt, Greene, 4:00 to 6:00 p.m. Tuesday, and Greene a.m. Wednesday. What does that refer to?

A (Witness peruses document.)

Are we on the same page?

MR. McGOUGH: You may have gotten left confused with right.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Oh, I am sorry.

A I am sorry. Now, what did you ask me about?

Q The entry with regard to Bunker Hunt, what does that refer to?

A I think it means available times that either Greene is available or Bunker Hunt is available to see Greene, to see Colonel North.

Q Was a meeting held about this time between Colonel

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North and Mr. Hunt?

A I would have to consult my records.

Q If you would turn to the second copy of this outline, which is also included in Exhibit 2 -- actually, now that I look at it, it appears to be a separate To-Do List with the same date, April 21, 1986. The page I am referring to is 20573.

Is this also a list that you prepared?

A Yes.

Q And the notes on the right in handwriting, are they your notes?

A Yes.

Q Now, there is an entry which reads, "Ellen is $60,000 short, cut from us," and the "us" is underscored. What does that refer to?

A (Witness peruses document.)

Ellen Garwood was sending us contributions, and she did not send us as much as she had promised, she was $60,000 short. And we should cut from our reserves, our endowment, and write a check for the full amount that she was contributing.

Q Write a check to whom for the full amount?

A International Business Communications.

Q Are these notes instructions that you received from Colonel North?

A No.

Q What do these notes reflect?

A Spitz Channell's instructions.

Q So you were to draw a check to International Business Communications for the amount of the contribution from Mrs. Garwood, plus $60,000, and the additional $60,000 was to be drawn from general funds of NEPL?

A Yes.

Q Was Mrs. Garwood asked to make up the additional $60,000?

A I do not recall whether she was or not.

Q At the top of that page, to the left, there is an entry in handwriting, "Greene dinner Thursday, May 1, 7:00 to 7:30." What does that refer to?

A I do not remember.

Q Over on Page 10, there is again the entry, Roman IV, "Greene," and under that you continue to have the entry, "Roy Godson," and then under that, "Maybe Greene will refer us to an international lawyer in Geneva." Is that correct?

A Yes.

Q Does the repetition of that entry indicate that you had not yet, when you prepared this To-Do List, received the message from Mr. Miller that Mr. Godson did not want to meet with you or speak with you?

A Yes.

Q Do you have any further recollection as to whether there is a relationship between Mr. Godson and the reference to an international lawyer in Geneva?

A The best I can say at the moment is that they both related to the same general overall topic which was, as I mentioned before, our setting up of an international foundation. But I do not remember what Roy Godson had to do with anything.

Q That was my question, what was Mr. Godson to have to do with the setting up of an international foundation?

A I thought your question was, how was Roy Godson related to an international lawyer in Geneva.

A Well, I think you may be correct, that was the question. But there was a further general question as to why you were conferring with Mr. Godson.

A I did not confer with Mr. Godson.

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Q Or why Mr. Godson appeared on this list. And is one reason that he appears is that he was to be a source of information about international fundraising in some respect?

A It is possible but, again, I mean it would be very unlikely for us to ask somebody for fundraising advice, internationally. I mean, as near as I can recall, it has to do with the setting up -- it is the logistical setting of it up. It is not fundraising, per se.

Q Is it now your recollection that Mr. Godson's name appears here because you were trying to confer with him, in some way, about the setting up of an international fundraising organization? Or do you recall why his name appears here?

A His name appears here because Colonel North referred him to us, but I do not remember why he referred him to us. But this took place in the context of -- this whole conversation took place in the context of us wanting to set up an international foundation. I just do not remember what Roy Godson had to do with it.

Q All right.

A And so did the international lawyer in Geneva have to do with that.

Q If you will turn to Page 12 on this outline,

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Mr. Conrad, those entries appear under the general heading, Roman V, "Western Goals," and under that there is a sub-heading, "Talk with Western Goals-Europe," and then under that there is an Item 8, "Get a multi-national corporate lawyer," and then you continue, "Penn Kemble suggestions, he will arrange lunch," then you continue, "Roy Godson."

What do those entries refer to?

A (Witness peruses document.)

Well, we wanted to -- Western Goals had a branch in Germany, and one -- sort of a branch, a quasi-branch -- I do not know what you call it -- in Great Britain, and we wanted to set them up in countries all over the world. So we wanted to get a multi-national corporate lawyer, an international lawyer, better said, to tell us how to do that. This different from the foundation that we were talking about earlier.

And we asked Penn Kemble who he -- I mean we told him about this problem, and he suggested that we talk with these people, and he would arrange these luncheons with them. All of them, except the meeting with Jean Kirkpatrick, were supposed to be at the same time.

Q Did he --

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A Discussing setting up an international organization.

Q And this is separate from the worldwide fundraising that you have been describing earlier?

A Yes.

Q Now, did Mr. Kemble set up any luncheons?

A No.

Q What happened?

A It was one of the things we never got to.

Q Mr. Conrad, in this outline on April 21, as we have looked previously at Page 10, there is the reference to Mr. Godson and under that a subheading about an international lawyer in Geneva, and then on Page 12, there is a second reference to Mr. Godson in connection with an entry about a multi-national corporate lawyer.

Do those entries refresh your recollection at all about Mr. Godson's role in the international lawyer, or obtaining an international lawyer?

A No. I mean I didn't even connect that I had them. I mean he did not ever make an impression on me because I never met the man, I never talked to him, anything, and I would have put the two entries -- I think I would have put the two entries close together if I had realized who we were

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even speaking of.

Q Did you ever meet Midge Decter?

Q ~~A~~ Did you ever meet Jean Kirkpatrick?

A No.

Q Mr. Conrad, on that same page, on Page 12, there is also a reference to Jerry Cassidy. Who is he?

A He is the owner of -- I think the name of the firm is Cassidy and Company.

Q What do they do?

A Lobbyists.

Q Under his name is the entry, "We're setting up an international network." What do you mean by that reference?

A Well, it had to do with Western Goals. Just as I have mentioned before, we want to set up branches in other countries.

Q What was Mr. Cassidy's role to be in that?

A We wanted to ask him what he thought we should do.

Q Did he tell you?

A I do not think we ever discussed it with him.

Q Turning to the outline for April 27, Roman IV on Page 10 is an entry for "Greene," and under that, capital A, there is a description of Greene Meeting with Bruce Hooper on

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Wednesday, April 30, from 9:30 to 10:00 a.m.

What does that entry refer to?

A (Witness peruses document.)

Bruce Hooper was scheduled to have a meeting with Colonel North on Wednesday, April 30th, between 9:30 and 10:00 a.m.

Q What was the reason for that meeting, as you understood?

A Private briefing.

Q Had Mr. Hooper requested such a meeting?

A I do not know who had requested it.

Q What were you told about that meeting?

A My recollections are very vague about it.

Q Did you discuss that with Jane McLaughlin?

A I may have.

Q Do you recall such a discussion?

A No.

Q On the next page, Page 11, there is Item N, "Greene Dinner, Thursday, May 1, 7:00 to 7:30 p.m.," and then a handwritten note, "With whom." Is that entry a carry-forward of your handwritten note on the earlier outline that we discussed a minute ago?

A Yes.

Q Who wrote the "with whom" there?

A Spitz Channell.

Q What do you recall about that entry?

A Nothing.

Q The next entry, Roman V, is "PRODEMCA Conference," and under that you have, "Contact Fred Sacher for funding," and then under that, "Proposal due this week from Penn Kemble." What does that refer to?

A Well, we wanted a proposal from Penn Kemble to put on a conference, but I do not remember the -- I do not remember whether he submitted a proposal or he didn't.

Q What was to be the subject of the conference, if you recall?

A I do not remember. It is one of those projects that never went anywhere, so I do not recall.

Q Moving ahead to June 6, and Page 3, there is an entry under the general heading "Jane," which reads, "Greene needs to call Bruce Hooper re $100,000 and how it will be used." What do you recall about that entry?

A I am sorry -- June 6, Page 3? Oh, yes, at the very top of the page.

Q Yes.

A Under "Jane"? Oh, I see -- previously.

Jane, in a meeting, told me that Bruce Hooper was expecting a phone call, and I needed to tell Colonel North to call him about the $100,000 contribution that he gave, and how it would be used.

Q Now, "Jane" refers to Jane McLaughlin, does it not?

A Yes.

Q And Bruce Hooper was an individual who contributed $100,000 to NE~~S~~PL; is that correct?

A Yes.

Q Now, had you understood that Bruce Hooper intended his contribution to be used for any particular purpose?

A I did not have any understanding.

Q You were not informed about that?

A Well, I may have been, but I do not recall.

Q You do not recall.

Do you recall Jane asking you to arrange a meeting between Colonel North and Bruce Hooper?

A She might very well have, but I do not recall it.

Q You have no independent recollection?

A I have no independent recollection of that. But it

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is a normal thing I would do.

Q On that same outline, Page 8, which are items under the general heading "David Fischer," which appears on Page 7, there is an entry, "B. Barbara Newington to State Dinner, July date has been reserved." What does that refer to?

A I had requested of David Fischer that he arrange to get -- actually, more correctly put, Spitz requested that Barbara Newington get an invitation to a State dinner at the White House, and David said that he would do that, and a July date has been reserved.

Q When you say "a State dinner," does that mean a dinner at the White House for a visiting Head of State?

A Yes.

Q And was Mrs. Newington invited to such a dinner?

A No.

Q She never was?

A No. Not to my knowledge.

Q Do you know why not?

A I -- it kept getting postponed.

Q There is also an entry on that same page, "Ellen needs a thank you from RR, alert David after total is given. CRC to draft thank you note." What does that refer to?

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A Ellen Garwood gave a lot of money, and we wanted to get her a thank you letter from the President. We didn't want the thank you note to go to Ellen until after the amount was given that she had promised to give. So this was to tell David -- this is an instruction from Spitz that I am supposed to tell David Fischer, after the total was given, and Spitz was going to draft a thank you note that the President could use as a text.

Q What total had she promised to give at this point?

A I do not recall.

Q But at this point in time, as of June 6, it is your recollection that there was an additional amount due from Mrs. Garwood?

A Yes.

Q Turning to the outline for June 14, Page 3, Item 14 reads, "Penn Kemble, union participation in SDI? Show Penn our latest Freedom Fighter ads." What does that refer to?

A (Witness peruses document.)

I do not remember about the union participation. The Freedom Fighter ads, we were doing television spots, and we wanted to show them to Penn.

Q Why would you be showing those to Penn?

A For his information, because he was very interested in this issue as well.

Q Now, these entries are all under the general heading "Rich Miller," Roman II, "Rich Miller," which appears on Page 1. Does that indicate that Mr. Miller is the source of this entry?

A No, no, no.

Q What does it -- what is it?

A It means that they are topics that I need to raise with Rich. Sometimes I would, for example, ask him to coordinate such a meeting.

Q What is the source of the notation to show Penn your latest Freedom Fighter ads?

A Spitz Channell.

Q That is Channel giving you instructions on that?

A Both entries are.

Q Turning to the outline for July 16, Page 9, there is a list of RR meetings, or proposed RR meetings, and under that is "Mrs. Pierce." Who is Mrs. Pierce?

A She is a contributor, lives in Florida.

Q Do you recall how much she contributed?

A No. I would have to look at my records.

Q What was the reason for arranging a meeting between -- or attempting to arrange a meeting between Mrs. Pierce and President Reagan?

A Spitz's call.

Q He just asked you to do this?

A That is right.

Q Then Item 6 was the "CAFP small group thank you." Is that a group meeting with the President that was proposed for the individuals listed under that?

A Yes.

Q Is that small group meeting the successor concept to the "group grope" entry in the earlier outlines?

A No.

Q What is the difference between a "group grope" and a "small group thank you"?

A This is a larger group.

Q I mean are both basically the idea of a small group meeting with the President?

A Yes.

Q Turning to the July 23 outline -- off the record.

(Discussion held off the record.)

MR. FRYMAN: Back on the record.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q On the July 23, 1986, outline, Page 7, which is the control number Page 20276, there are several entries with respect to Barbara Newington under the general heading, "David Fischer." One is, "Meet with RR for signing of Contra aid bill."

Did that occur?

A No.

Q Why not?

A It is one of those things that didn't happen.

Q The next is, "private meeting with Greene." Do you know if that occurred?

A Well, she did meet frequently with him; I do not remember whether on this date.

Q All right. The next item is "Larry McDonald Brigade report from Rich, and films and photos." What does that refer to?

A Mrs. Newington had made a large contribution to the Larry McDonald Brigade, to be used for the Larry McDonald Brigade, and we wanted to give her an updated report on the Brigade itself.

Q Now, was that contribution made through NEPL?

A Yes.

Q What was the Larry McDonald Brigade?

A Well, an artificial -- I do not -- I am not positive. I never saw it. My understanding was it was a, you know -- what do you call it -- a military unit in the UNO Forces.

Q What did you understand her contribution was to accomplish, with respect to this Brigade?

A Well, she was like underwriting the support for that particular unit.

Q Was she buying supplies for the unit?

A Yes.

Q Including military supplies?

A It was never specified. As a matter of fact, I do not think -- I remember us discussing particularly boots and uniforms and food, and I do not recall whether we discussed weapons or not.

Q Who came up with the idea of the Larry McDonald Brigade?

A I am foggy on the point. I think Spitz Channell originally recommended it, but it might have also -- might have been already in existence. I am just not positive.

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T2S?

Q Do you know if anyone else contributed to that Brigade, other than Mrs. Newington?

A I believe that Western Goals -- before we took over Western Goals, they had, unbeknownst to us, had a project to raise money for them, and so I think they had quite a number of contributors. But I do not know that for a fact.

Q Did you participate in meetings with Mrs. Newington about contributions to the Larry McDonald Brigade? I said, "meetings." I mean a meeting or meetings.

A I am trying to recall. Well, I remember discussing with Mrs. Newington sort of the status of the Brigade. I was present when that happened, at least on one occasion. There may have been other occasions, but I do not recall.

Q On the one occasion, how many other people were present?

A Spitz Channell.

Q Just the three of you?

A Just the three of us, yes.

Q Colonel North was not present?

A No.

Q Now, there is also an entry here about a "Greene weekend in Connecticut," and I take it, that refers to the

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weekend that Colonel North visited Mrs. Newington at her home?

A Yes.

Q Were you present?

A Yes.

Q And Mr. Channell was present?

A Yes.

Q And Colonel North's family?

A Yes.

Q Did Colonel North travel to Connecticut by private plane for that weekend?

A Yes.

Q Who paid for the plane?

A NEPL.

Q Did you travel on that plane also?

A No.

Q How did you travel?

A Commercial airline.

Q On Page 11 of this July 23, 1986, outline, there is a reference to the Gulf and Caribbean Foundation, and Dan Kuykendall.

A Kuykendall.

Q Kuykendall, K-U-Y-K-E-N-D-A-L-L.

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Now, Mr. Kuykendall and the Gulf and Caribbean Foundation had had a relationship with NEPL prior to July of 1986, had they not?

A I do not remember.

Q Had they been involved in the CAFP Program?

A I do not think so.

Q All right. What did you understand Mr. Kuykendall's involvement with NEPL was? What was Mr. Kuykendall to be doing for NEPL?

A Well, I do not know how to say it. He is a --

Q Was he a consultant?

A He is a consultant, yes.

Q About what?

A Well, politics, generally. I do not know how to -- politics. I do not know how else to say that.

Q Was he on a monthly retainer?

A Yes.

Q How much?

A It varied over time. I do not know what it started out at.

Q Now, what was the relationship between NEPL and the Gulf and Caribbean Foundation?

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A Nothing.

Q What did you understand the relationship between Mr. Kuykendall and the Gulf and Caribbean Foundation to be?

A Dan was, I think, the Executive Director or their -- maybe not. Maybe he was their Washington, D.C., representative. I never did know exactly.

Q But your understanding of his relationship with NEPL is that he was retained as a consultant, to provide general political advice?

A Yes.

Q Who is Gene Douglas?

A Well, I know he is a former Ambassador, but I do not know any more -- I think he was a member of the Gulf and Caribbean Foundation.

Q There is an entry on Page 11, under Gulf and Caribbean Foundation, that Gene Douglas and Ollie North are to attend fall meeting. What does that refer to?

A Well, the Gulf and Caribbean Foundation was going to have a fall meeting, and Gene Douglas and Ollie North were supposed to attend it.

Q Why was that a matter of concern to you?

A I think it was originally proposed that we should

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undertake the management of Gulf and Caribbean Foundation.

Q When you say "we should undertake the --"

A NEPL, NEPL.

Q As opposed to Channel Corporation?

A Well, I mean I was using NEPL in the sense that we have been using it all along here, which is everything --

Q The whole group of entities?

A I do not know which entity. I mean since we had 11, it is hard to know which one it was going to go into.

Q Were you to undertake the management on a fee basis, or were you to take over the organization?

A It was not clear. I do not think it ever crystallized as an idea.

Q Was this a thought of Mr. Channell's?

A Yes.

Q Do you know if he discussed that with Mr. Kuykendall?

A Yes, he did.

Q What was Mr. Kuykendall's response?

A He thought it was a good idea. Maybe even he proposed it; I do not remember.

Q The next entry refers to a copy of letter sent by

Kuykendall to board members which you are to obtain. What does that refer to?

A Well, Dan Kuykendall sent a letter, I guess explaining who we were and what we were about, to his board members, a sort of anticipatory thing to the board meeting that was going to be held in the fall, to alert them that we were on the scene and that we were players.

Q Was this preparatory to NEPL taking control of the Gulf and Caribbean Foundation?

A Yes.

Q But that did not occur?

A Right.

Q And you do not know why it did not occur?

A Well, it is another one of those 8 million things that we did not get done. This would have been a twelfth organization.

Q Now, we talked earlier about the Southwest Cattlemen's Board Member list, and that, again, appears on this page under Mr. Kuykendall's name. What was his involvement in that?

A I do not know if he was ever involved in it. I asked him if he could get a copy of the list.

Q Well, I guess that is my question. This entry here indicates that you asked Mr. Kuykendall to get the list?

A Yes.

Q Why did you view him as a vehicle for obtaining this list?

A Well, I do not know how to answer that. I asked him to obtain a lot of lists for me at different times.

Q Did he get this one for you?

A No.

Q Turning to the outline for the August 9, 1986, --

MR. OLIVER: Which one?

THE WITNESS: There is only one in here.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Directing your attention to the page that has the control number on the bottom 20265, there is a reference there to the NEPL Conference on Terrorism. What was that?

A Something that did not happen.

Q Was this, again, an idea of Mr. Channell's?

A Yes.

Q Why did it not happen?

A Same answer as before.

Q Just never got around to implementing it?

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A Right.

MR. McGOUGH: Which page are you referring to?

MR. FRYMAN: It is on Page 20265.

THE WITNESS: It is in the middle of the page.

MR. FRYMAN: There is Roman X, "Conferences," and under that, "A. NEPL Conference on Terrorism."

MR. McGOUGH: I have it. THank you.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Now, under that entry, which I guess is 10-A, "NEPL Conference on Terrorism," there is a Number 3, "Greene," and under that there is an Item C, "Letter to Mrs. King thanking her for sending Spitz and Cliff and Kris," K-R-I-S, "to Paris conference."

What does that refer to?

A Spitz asked me to have Colonel North send a letter to Mrs. May Dougherty King to thank her for the grants, monies that she gave us, so that Spitz and Cliff and Kris could go to a Paris conference on terrorism.

Q What was the reason they attended that conference in Paris?

A Well, terrorism was a theme that we were interested in, an issue that we were interested in. We wanted to do a

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film on it. We were thinking about doing a conference on it. We needed more information on it. We met with various people to discuss aspects of terrorism. However, we never did anything with it. But attending the conference was one of the things that we were doing to get up to speed, so to speak, on the issue.

Q Who sponsored the conference in Paris?

A I forget. Some French organization.

Q Was that the only reason that Channell and the others attended the conference, or made the trip to Paris, was to participate in a meeting on the subject of terrorism?

A As far as I know.

Q Was there any fundraising purpose in connection with that trip?

A Do you mean to raise money from an individual?

Q Yes.

A No, not that I know of.

Q On that same page, there is another reference to an ATAC, A-T-A-C, Conference in September. Did that conference occur?

A No.

Q Why not?

A This is getting repetitious, sir. Same reason. This To-Do List, I point out, is 27 pages in length. We are now reaching gargantuan proportions of things that do not get done.

Q All right. Turning to the September 19 To-Do List, the control number at the bottom is 20522, there is an item Roman XXV, Paris Conference." What does that refer to?

A (Witness peruses document.)

I think it is on terrorism. I think that is the update of the previous thing, entry, we were discussing -- also which did not happen, for the same reason.

(Pause.)

Q Turning to the next outline, dated November 11, 1986, --

THE WITNESS: Can we go off the record?

MR. FRYMAN: Sure. Off the record.

(Discussion held off the record.)

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q The November 11, 1986, outline, Page 4, there is a Roman V, "David Fischer," and under that, Item B, "RR thank you letter," and them Item C, "RR thank you meeting." What does that refer to?

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--

A (Witness peruses document.)

Well, the thank you letter was one in a continuing series -- I mean we were always wanting another thank you letter.

Q That is a thank you letter from the President to NEPL?

A Yes.

Q And a thank you meeting is a meeting with the President and --

A And somebody. I do not know who this one refers to. I mean we arranged 8 million of these, so I do not know.

Q Now, Item D is a reference to "John and Nancy Ramsey meeting." What was the reason for attempting to establish a meeting between the President and the Ramseys in November of 1986?

A I do not recall. I do not also know whether it is supposed to be a meeting with the President.

Q What do you refer that to refer to, then?

A I do not know. I do not know why it is there.

Q And the next entry is "Pentecost meeting." What does that refer to? Item E.

A I think that is a meeting that David Fischer was

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supposed to arrange with the President.

Q With the Pentecost?

A Yes.

Q Is that your handwriting beside that?

A Yes, that is.

Q What does that say?

A "Next wednesday, 11/19/86 or Wednesday, 11/26/86."

Q Why were you attempting to arrange a meeting with the Pentecost and the President?

A A thank-you meeting.

Q For what?

A For their participation in supporting the policies of the President.

Q Does that mean and contributing money?

A Sure.

Q Did such a meeting occur?

A Yes.

Q Turning to the January 6, 1987, To-Do List on Page 2, under the heading, "David Fischer," there is an entry that reads, "Status of resume of Barbara Newington's friend (attorney)." What does that refer to?

A Barbara Newington asked us, in a meeting one time, to see if we might be able to refer a friend of hers, who had just gotten a law degree, to somebody in Washington, to see whether he could get a position. And I had his resume and what I did with it was to give it to David Fischer, and he was going to pass it on to somebody -- I have forgotten who now.

Q Who was this person?

A Just a friend of Barbara Newington.

Q Do you remember the name?

A The son of somebody.

Q Do you remember the name?

A I do not. I would have to look at my records.

Q Do you know what Fischer did with the resume?

A He gave it to somebody else but I do not remember. He told me who, but I do not remember, at the moment, who it was.

Q Do you know if Fischer succeeded in getting this person a job?

A I do not -- I never heard the end of it. That is why I have it on the To-Do List, to find out what happened, and I never did find out.

Q Now, Item G under Fischer is a meeting with Bill

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Simon. What does that refer to?

A We wanted David Fischer to arrange a meeting with us with Bill Simon.

Q For what purpose?

A To solicit money.

Q Did such a meeting occur?

A No.

Q Do you know if Fischer knew Bill Simon?

A He did not know him.

Q Why would you ask him to arrange the meeting then?

A Good question. Maybe that is why it didn't happen.

Q Had you been aware that Bill Simon had been very active in another organization to raise money for Nicaragua?

A Yes.

Q And that was an organization that Jean Kirkpatrick was also involved in?

A Maybe she was. I do not remember. There were a lot of people, notable people, involved.

Q And Arnaud de Borchegrave had been involved in that?

A Yes, I remember he was involved.

Q Arnaud de Borchegrave, A-R-N-A-U-D, de, D-E, B-O-R-C-H-E-G-R-A-V-E.

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And there had been a fair ~~about~~ amount of publicity abou
that organization?

A Yes.

Q Do you know what happened to that organization?

A Only from press reports.

Q Do you know if they raised a substantial amount o
money?

A That is what the press reported. Yes.

Q Do you know who the executive director of that
organization was?

A No.

Q Was it Hal Eberley?

A I never heard the name, that I recall.

Q Did you have any dealings with that organization
connection with your fundraising activities?

A No.

Q Mr. Conrad, in this outline dated January 6, 198
on Page 3, begins a section, Roman VIII, on Nicaragua, and
have under that, Item 4, "RR to make an aggressive speech,"
which, I take it, refers to President Reagan?

A Yes.

Q Then under that you have, "Give Greene an outlin

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of the speech on Tuesday." And "Greene," I take it, refers to Colonel North.

A Yes.

Q Now, you are aware, are you not, that by January 1987, Colonel North had resigned?

A Yes.

Q Why would you be giving Colonel North an outline of a speech for President Reagan to make on Nicaragua after he had resigned?

A I believe it was an error in -- nothing ever happened on this. This is another one of those things that never happened. But I believe that this was not removed, in error, from the outline.

Q Colonel North resigned in November?

A Yes.

Q And it is your belief that that entry had preceded his resignation in your original To-Do List?

A Yes.

Q Now, there is a reference in that same section to Bob Kagan, K-A-G-A-N. Who is Bob Kagan?

A To my understanding, he is with the State Department.

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Q Have you met him?

A No.

Q Who told you he was with the State Department?

A I think Spitz.

Q Do you know if Mr. Channell has met him?

A Yes.

Q Do you know on how many occasions? Let me rephrase that.

Do you know if he has met with him on more than one occasion?

A I am not sure.

Q But at least one?

A At least one. He had lunch with him.

Q Was anyone else present?

A Not that I know of.

Q Who arranged that lunch?

A Good question. I have no idea.

Q What was the purpose of the lunch?

A I did not know.

Q When did the --

A Oh, wait a minute. I think he -- I do not know who arranged it, but I thought -- my understanding is that Kagan

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called our office and asked to see Spitz. I think that is how it went.

Q Approximately, when did this lunch occur?

A I could not tell you. I would have to look at my notes.

Q In 1986 sometime?

A I do not know.

(Pause.)

Q Turning to the January 7, 1987, outline, Page 1, which is your control number Page 20919; the handwritten note up on the right, is that your handwriting?

A Yes.

Q Now, those notes include this reference, "Letter to Jane. 1. Shocked to hear you did this; 2. You weren't authorized; 3. Maybe it's good you're gone."

Now, is Jane Jane McLaughlin?

A Yes.

Q What does the first entry refer to, "Shocked to hear you did this"?

A Well, the whole thing refers to items that were supposed to be included in a letter, drafted by our attorney, to Jane.

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Q Was such a letter sent?

A No.

Q What is the first item, "Shocked to hear you did this"? What does that mean?

A Spitz is saying that he is shocked to hear that Jane solicited Bruce Hooper for weapons and $100,000 contribution, which she came in and told Spitz.

Q Is that all it refers to?

A Yes.

Q Now, the second line, "You weren't authorized," what does that refer to?

A Spitz is saying that he did not authorize Jane to ask for $100,000 for weapons.

Q From Bruce Hooper?

A From Bruce Hooper.

Q It refers to that particular contribution?

A Yes.

Q Both one and two refer to that specific contribution?

A Yes.

Q Anything else?

A No. Jane said to Spitz that she solicited money

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for arms from Bruce Hooper, and his point was, "You weren't authorized to do it."

Q All right. And the last item, "Maybe it's good you're gone"?

A She had just resigned.

Q All right. Now, you say these were notes to be included in a letter from your attorney to Jane?

A Yes.

Q And that letter was never sent?

A Yes.

Q Why was it not sent?

A I do not know.

T3S1 Q Now, if you will look at Page 17 of this outline, Item R reads, "Greene list of contributors to Nicaragua," and under that is, "1. [redacted]" and "2. Goldsmith." What does that refer to?

A (Witness peruses document.)

Well, we were developing a list, we were developing a list of people to request contributions from for our Constitution Project, and Goldsmith was a contributor who was suggested to me by Colonel North. [redacted] I am not sure why it is there because I do not recall -- I mean I know why

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[redacted] ~~was in my mind~~ was in my mind, because I had had it for some time, but I do not remember Colonel North saying anything about that.

Q "Goldsmith" refers to Sir James Goldsmith?

A Yes.

Q Had he been a contributor to NEPL with respect to Nicaragua?

A We had great hopes, but no.

Q Why had you had great hopes?

A We think in terms of great hopes.

Q Had you met with him or spoken with him?

A No. I had attended a meeting where he spoke, and I got more interested in him as a result.

Q Where was that?

A In Washington, at the Washington Hilton.

Q Do you know if anyone else had spoken with him, directly or indirectly, on your behalf?

A Not that I know of.

Q Do you know if Ambassador Whittlesey had spoken with him?

A I haven't any idea.

Q But so far as you know, he had not made any contribution, with respect to Nicaragua?

A I can -- I am 99.9 percent sure he did not make any contribution --

Q I say, so far as you know, he did not?

A Yes.

Q And you do not know why there is an entry there for [redacted]

A Well, it is only my own thinking, but I do not know, I mean I -- the thing that puzzles me about it is that it says it is "Green list of contributors to Nicaragua," and that is puzzling to me because I do not ever remember him mentioning [redacted]

Q Do you remember Mr. Channell ever telling you that Colonel North had mentioned [redacted]

A I do not recall. I do not think so.

MR. FRYMAN: Why don't we take a break at this point.

(Whereupon, a brief recess was taken.)

MR. FRYMAN: During the break, the Reporter has marked, as Conrad Deposition Exhibit 9 for identification, a volume of copy of handwritten notes which have been produced by counsel for the Channel organizations. The particular pages included in this volume, or the control numbers of the particular pages, are listed at the front of the volume.

(The document referred to was marked for identification as Conrad Deposition Exhibit 9.)

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Mr. Conrad, I ask you to look at the first page in this volume, which has the control number 68470 --

A 78470.

Q I am sorry -- 78470. Are those notes in your handwriting?

A Yes.

Q And is there a date on those notes of 8/26/84?

A Yes.

Q Does that indicate the date you made the notes?

A No.

Q What is that date?

A It was a mistake.

Q What should the date be?

A 8/26/85.

Q At the top of the page, there is an entry that begins "225 contributors." Do you see that?

A Yes.

Q Is that in your handwriting?

A Yes.

Q Would you read that, for the record, down through the "160."

A This says, "225," next to it, it says "contributors." The next line says, "45," and next to that, it says, FCS --"

Q What does "FCS" stand for?

A F. Clifton Smith.

Q And then under that is?

A And then those two amounts are totaled -- I am sorry -- are subtracted, and so it is "180," and next to that it says "left." Then there is another number underneath that, "20," and next to that are the initials "CRC," which is Spitz Channell, and below that subtracting is "160." The 20 from 180 is 160.

Q Now, what is the meaning of this computation or entry? What was the purpose of this?

A I could not tell you. I mean it is one of the innumerable calculations we made at different times. It is Spitz' mental -- I mean he is verbalizing it, but his mental thinking-through of the amounts of money that we have, so I am taking notes. I do not remember what this referred to.

Q So this is information that Channel gave to you?

A Yes.

Q Now, under that are further notes by you, and if anything I read about these notes is incorrect, would you stop and correct me.

A Fine.

Q But as I read them, it says, "Memo to Rich and Frank regarding April requests and accomplishments to date," and then in parenthesis, you have "Don't mention Nicaragua." What does that refer to?

A (Witness peruses document.)

Well, I do not remember why they were doing this, but they wanted to have a list of NEPL's accomplishments to date, outside of Nicaragua. In other words, what had we done other than Nicaragua?

Q Who is "they"? Is that Rich and Frank?

A Rich and Frank, yes. And they were going to do like a press kit or something; I have forgotten why.

Q Now, the note has "April requests and accomplishments to date." What do the "April requests" refer to?

A I am just not sure. I do not remember.

Q There is also an entry on that page "to have phones swept and Cliff's phones." What is the meaning of that entry?

A Spitz was concerned and, subsequently, Cliff was concerned that our phones were being tapped, and so we wanted to find out how much it would cost to get them -- what do you call it? Well, I call it "swept." I do not know what the right word is.

Q Is that the significance of the word "cost" and question mark at the end of that line?

A Yes. Cliff wanted to know how much it would cost to do his junior one bedroom.

Q Back up to the first entry, the parenthetical phrase "(don't mention Nicaragua)," who specifically told you not to mention Nicaragua?

A Well, probably Rich or Frank. I mean the point of it was, as I mentioned, that they wanted to know -- I do not remember the purpose of this, but they wanted to put together a memo or a document of some kind to go in a press kit, as I recall, that talked about the other things that we did besides Nicaragua.

In other words, there was other documentation -- we were not avoiding mentioning Nicaragua. There was other documentation in the kit having to do with our efforts in Nicaragua. What we had not done was to document our other efforts that we had been involved with, and they wanted to develop something. It is for publicity, public relations work.

Q Did you arrange to have the phones swept?

A I do not think we did, at this particular time.

Q Did you later?

A In 1986, yes. Way late in the year in 1986.

Q Did you also arrange to have Barbara Newington's phones swept?

A Yes.

Q What was the reason for that?

A Spitz asked me to.

Q Why? Do you know why he wanted that done?

A I think as a favor to Mrs. Newington.

Q Do you know if he had reason to believe that her phones were being tapped?

A As far as I knew, he did not have any reason. I think he was just doing it for a precaution.

Q Did you consider that step a fundraising technique?

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A Well, I did, yes. I mean he may have had other ideas about it, but I thought it was a fundraising technique.

Q How was it a fundraising technique?

A Well, you heighten the atmosphere around the solicitations and the information that you are conveying.

Q Who paid for having her phones swept?

A NEPL, as far as I know, or -- using NEPL to mean all the organizations -- somebody there did.

Q Do you know the reason that Channell believed that there was a reason to have the phones swept at the NEPL offices in August of 1985?

A No, I do not.

Q The next entry is, "Call Ken with schedule of payments to Charles." First of all, who is Ken?

A It is Ken Gil~~l~~man.

Q Who is he?

A President of the Public Management Institute.

Q And Charles?

A Charles Gi~~l~~lman, his cousin.

Q Is he also an employee of PMI?

A No. He is deceased now.

Q What does that entry refer to?

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A It is a personal business arrangement with Kenneth and myself to Charles Gil~~l~~man.

Q It has nothing to do with NEPL activities?

A Nothing whatsoever.

Q One further question on the subject of sweeping phones. You say you did have the phones swept in the NEPL offices sometimes in 1986?

A Yes.

Q Was anything found in that process?

A No.

Q Do you know if anything was ever found in sweeping Mrs. Newington's phones?

A No, nothing was.

Q Turning to the next two pages, which have your control numbers 2707071-72.

A You showed me these before.

Q These, I believe, are the pages that Mr. McGough asked you questions about earlier this week.

A Yes.

Q These are notes of March 19, 1985; is that correct?

A Yes.

(Pause.)

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Q Now, the next page in the volume is a group of notes dated 4/5/85, is it not?

A Yes.

Q Are those your notes?

A Yes.

Q Were they made on April 5, 1985?

A Yes.

Q Now, out to the side, towards the middle, towards the left-hand side, there is a reference to the "Institute on North/South Issues," and then a notation of a "501(c)3 applicant." What does that refer to?

A It was an organization controlled by Rich Miller and Frank Gomez, and there was a 501(c)3 applicant.

Q Why is there a reference to that organization on your notes here?

A They mentioned it.

Q For what purpose?

A I guess to talk about their interest in these issues, the whole Nicaraguan, Central American, South American things. They were telling me about their credentials and so on.

Q What did you understand the Institute on North/South

Issues was to do?

A I do not --

Q Was it ever used for any purpose by your organization?

A By our organization?

Q Yes.

A Oh, certainly not.

Q Are you aware of any money being transferred to that organization?

A Not by us.

Q By anyone else?

THE WITNESS: May I talk to my counsel a minute.

MR. FRYMAN: Off the record.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

THE WITNESS: I do not recall. I do not think there were any. I would have to check my records to be sure.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Are you familiar with an organization called the Heritage Foundation?

A Yes.

Q Are you aware of any funds that the Heritage Foundation transferred to the Institute on North/South issues?

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A No. It is the first I have ever heard of it.

Q Now, there are also notes there concerning the Gulf and Caribbean Foundation, are there not?

A Yes.

Q What is the reason for those notes?

A Well, Rich Miller and Frank Gomez were telling me of their previous experience with this issue, the issue of Nicaragua and the Contras, and their involvement in Central American issues and South American Issues, and they said they had worked with the Gulf and Caribbean Foundation and Dan Kuykendall. So that is why it is there.

Q Are these notes of the first meeting that you had with Miller and Gomez?

A Yes.

A And they are, in effect, at this meeting, explaining to you their qualifications in this area?

A Yes.

Q And this is you and Channel meeting with them?

A No. Just me.

Q Just you. So there is just three of you in the meeting?

A Yes.

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Q What did you understand their relationship to have been with the Gulf and Caribbean Foundation?

A Well, they caused a pamphlet to be written; whether they wrote it or not, I do not know, but they supervised its production and all that business, as far as I know, because they gave me a copy of it at that time. I think they were retained by Gulf and Caribbean to be their publicity, PR firm.

Q The individuals listed under the Gulf and Caribbean Foundation are individuals associated with it?

A Yes.

Q Who is Bill Blakemore?

A Well, he was a contributor to us, subsequently. But at that time I had never heard of him before.

Q Does he live in Texas?

A Yes.

Q Did they tell you that Bunker Hunt was an anonymous contributor to the Gulf and Caribbean Foundation?

A Yes.

Q What did they tell you about Bobby Holt?

A That he was a member of the Gulf and Caribbean Foundation.

Q Did they tell you he was a friend of George Bush?

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A Yes.

Q Did they say how they knew that?

A No.

Q Now, there are notations at the bottom of that page concerning 26 to 26 districts, or maybe it reads five to 26, but I think it reads 25 to 26 districts.

A I think you are right.

Q Under that appears to be abbreviations for New York, Texas, Illinois and Florida.

A Yes.

Q What do those notes refer to?

A (Witness peruses document.)

Well, I think that is where we thought the Contra Aid Bill would be decided, in those districts, in those states, in 20 to 25 districts. We went to see Rich and Frank about what later became a Central American Freedom Program. That is what -- this is sort of a beginning of it.

Q So what did you discuss about contemplated activities with respect to those 25 to 26 districts?

A As far as I know, it was just television advertising.

Q What was to be the objective of that advertising?

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A Public education on the issue of the Freedom Fighters.

Q Was tha ultimate objective to change the vote of the Congressional representatives?

A Well, hopefully.

Q Towards the top of the page, there is a notation of "Otto Reich's," R-E-I-C-H-S, "office."

A Yes.

Q What does that refer to, or what did they tell you about that?

A This is their previous experience. They had been doing PR for the AAA, and they were either mentioning -- or I do not know how they put it -- that they were -- that Otto Reich's office in the State Department was the one that was -- I don't know -- coordinating all this issue, or something. I do not have a specific recollection.

Q Did they say they were working for Otto Reich's office?

A Not that I recall.

Q Were you aware that they had a contract with the State Department?

A Not at that time.

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Q You later became aware of that?

A Yes.

Q But they did not mention that to you at this meeting?

A Well, not that I recall. I mean they might have, very easily, but I just do not recall it.

Q So your recollection is, the reference to Otto Reich's office is that that office was coordinating activities with respect to Central America?

A That is my impression.

Q And this is activities in connection with the upcoming Congressional votes?

A Well, I am not sure. I do not know that the subject ever came up again, and I do not recall.

Q At the middle of the page, or toward the upper middle of the page, there is a reference to "Op Ed pieces and articles and speakers," and out to the left of that is the name "Goodman." Did they give you the name Goodman?

A Yes.

Q Who is Goodman?

A Robert Goodman, Robert Goodman Agency, Baltimore, advertising.

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Q Had you known of them before?

A Never heard of them.

Q So they put you in touch with Goodman?

A Yes.

Q Turning to the next page, which is 79113, are these your notes, Mr. Conrad?

A Yes.

Q And is this April 7, 1985?

A Yes.

Q Who is Helen Marie Taylor?

A A contributor prospect.

Q Where did you get her name?

A Spitz Channell.

Q Under that is the name Rich Miller, and there are several items listed under Miller; are those matters that you are to raise with Mr. Miller?

A (Witness peruses document.)

Yes.

Q The first one is "White House authorization letter for us and him." What does that refer to?

MS. MORRISON: Haven't we gone over that?

MR. FRYMAN: Some of this we have.

MS. MORRISON: Almost all of it.

THE WITNESS: We wanted a letter from the White House authorizing us to work on this issue.

MR. FRYMAN: Let's go off the record for a second.

(Discussion held off the record.)

MR. FRYMAN: Back on the record.

Would you read back the previous question, please?

(Whereupon, the Reporter read back the pending question.)

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Would you answer the question, please?

A We wanted to get a letter from the White House authorizing us to work on this issue.

Q Did you get such a letter?

A No.

Q Turning to the next page, which is 37225, are those your notes?

A Yes.

Q And those are notes you made about April 16, 1985?

A Yes.

Q At the top of the page, there is a reference to Jamaica World Relief and Thomas B. Evans. Why does that appear there?

A We were invited to attend -- Spitz and I were invited to attend a meeting at the -- I think it is called the Town Club in Georgetown, and Eddy Seaga, the Prime Minister of Jamaica, was there and talking about the International Youth Conference which was to be held in Jamaica in June of 1985, and they needed some money. And George Bush attended.

And we were asked if we could help with raising money for it, giving money to it. And Jamaica World Relief was the name of the entity to whom checks should be made payable for the support of the International Youth Conference.

Q What activities did NEPL undertake with respect to the International Youth Conference, if any?

A None.

Q None. Had you been aware that Mr. Godson was involved in the International Youth Conference?

A No.

Q You and Mr. Channell attended this luncheon that you referred to?

A Yes.

Q Was that your only involvement, with respect to

Jamaica and the International Youth Conference?

A Well, we had several conversations with Tom Evans about it but, basically, yes.

Q What had been the purpose of the further conversations?

A We developed a whole program that we thought we would like to pursue. It was a little short-term notice to raise money so quickly for the International Youth Project, and we started to get involved in thinking how we could help for the next year.

We were putting together a plan, fundraising plan, where the Prime Minister of Jamaica and the Ambassador from the United States to Jamaica would host some couples to come down and be sponsors of this event. We had all kinds of discussions about that, but it never went anywhere. We were putting together a fundraising plan.

Q The next page in this volume is 30095; and are those your notes dated April 17, 1985?

A Yes.

Q Down at the bottom, there is a heading "Issue Options," and an Item 8, "Nicaraguan Refugees, White House briefing, solicit in a group." What does that refer to?

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A (Witness peruses document.)

I do not remember.

Q The next item, "Jamaica International Youth Conference," is that just a reference to what you described a minute ago?

A Yes, it is.

Q Now, I believe the next page, 78826, dated April 20, 1985, is a matter you have been questioned about previously, is it not?

A Yes.

Q That is also marked as Exhibit 7.

Now, is the next entry or the next page, 37226, your notes dated April 22, 1985?

A Yes.

Q The first entry reads, "John Roberts re RNC efforts to identify major givers," and there is some word after that that I cannot read. My first question is, can you read the rest of that?

A I think it says "data base," but I am not positive.

Q In any case, what does that entry refer to?

A The fact that the Republicans were not very well organized for fundraising.

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Q What were you going to do with John Roberts concerning this?

A We discussed their lack of organization, and I suggested that I had several techniques that I think they should be using, and they did not appear to be using. And he thought that was a good idea, and I should be put in touch with those people to see if I could be helpful to them.

Q So this is a matter you discussed with John Roberts?

A Yes.

Q Was it just the two of you?

A No. Spitz was there, as well.

Q How many times did you meet with John Roberts? Was it numerous occasions?

A No, no. Maybe three that I can think of off the top of my head.

Q Did you speak with him on the phone on other occasions?

A Yes.

Q This is the John Roberts who worked with Ed Rollins?

A Yes.

Q Continuing on that page, it reads, "Call Peter Dunston, Martin Marietta, re PAC fundraising." What does

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that refer to?

A We met Peter Dunston at the Jamaica event with Vice President Bush, and we started talking with him about -- he had a PAC. He is with Martin Marietta, he had a PAC, and he was having difficulty raising money, and we said, "Oh, that is no problem. We know how to do that. We need to talk to you."

Q So you were seeking to be retained by him, or to work with him?

A Something. Nothing ever happened, though.

Q All right.

A I mean it wasn't clear what we wanted, not even to us.

Q The next entry is, "Send ad to Pat Buchanan and Rich Miller and John Roberts," and "Call John Roberts first." What ad does that refer to?

A Well, I am not positive. Either a TV ad or a space ad. It is either a newspaper ad or a television ad; I am not sure which.

Q What was the reason for sending the ad to those three?

A So they could see what we were doing on their behalf. I mean they were concerned about the Contra issue as well as we were, and we wanted to show them what we were doing.

Q Had you had discussions with Mr. Buchanan about this?

A To my knowledge, Spitz never did, and I never did.

Q Who told you to send this to Buchanan?

Q Was it his idea?

A Yes.

Q What was the reason for calling John Roberts before sending the ad?

A To alert him that they were coming so he would know to pay attention to them. I think they were actually the TV ads.

Q The next entry concerns an appointment with Bush and a reference to Craig Fuller.

A Yes.

Q Did you arrange such an appointment?

A Eventually, yes.

Q Do you recall when that occurred? Was it several months later?

A Oh, many months later.

Q Now, the last entry says, "John Roberts," and then there is a reference to "Rich Miller and districts," and a further reference to a "follow-report to Pat Buchanan." What does that refer to?

A I believe it refers to the fact that we were advertising on television in a number of different media markets around the United States on the Contra aid vote. And we wanted to give a report to Pat Buchanan on the outcome of the votes of the Congressmen in those districts.

(Interruption to proceedings.)

T3S2 BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Did you make such a report?

A Yes.

Q Now, were those television ads prepared by the Goodman Agency?

A Yes.

Q The first you heard of the Goodman Agency was on April 5, 1985?

A Right.

Q In your meeting with Mr. Miller?

A Yes.

Q How quickly did they prepare ads to be used?

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A Oh, I think 24 hours.

Q That quickly?

A Yes.

Q And they began to be --

A Complained about it bitterly, but they did it.

Q They began to be run within a few days?

A Oh, yes.

Q So there was time for a media campaign before April 22nd?

A I think this might have been concurrent with it; I am not sure. We could check our other records and be sure exactly when it started and stopped. Our intention was to run the ads, and this may have been a day or two, or something like that, prior to the actual report being written.

Q All right.

MS. MORRISON: This is a good place to stop.

MR. FRYMAN: We will break until 2:30.

(Whereupon, a luncheon recess was taken.)

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AFTERNOON SESSION

T4S1

MR. FRYMAN: Back on the record.

Whereupon,

DANIEL LYNN CONRAD

having been previously duly sworn, was recalled as a witness herein, and was examined and testified further as follows:

FURTHER EXAMINATION BY COUNSEL

FOR THE HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Mr. Conrad, directing your attention to the handwritten notes dated April 28, 1985, the one that has your control number 34523 at the bottom. There is an entry at the top which reads, "WH," which I take to mean White House, "strategists targeted 53 representatives whose votes could be swayed to support RR in Nicaragua aid vote. ACT ran TV ads in 12 districts, eight of them voted yes to support the President."

Is that your handwriting?

A Yes.

Q Did you make those notes on April 28, 1985?

A Maybe.

Q On or about that date?

A Yes.

Q Who are the White House strategists referred to in that sentence?

A No one.

Q Well, what does that phrase refer to?

A I do not know how to answer the question. This is a report in which we are putting ourselves in the best possible light, and so I am -- this isn't a fundraising document, but I am tempted to call this fundraising -- one of the things that you do with fundraising, to sensitize the situation, to make it more important. In other words, there is no basis in fact for the use of the term "White House strategists."

Q Well, did someone target 53 representatives?

A I think so.

Q Who?

A I am not sure who did this.

MS. LUBIN: Excuse me. Could I interrupt for a moment. This seems a little far from the mandate, and I would just inquire of the relevance.

MR. FRYMAN: If you have read the House Resolution, I do not think it is far from the mandate at all.

MS. LUBIN: Well, refresh my recollection.

MR. FRYMAN: The activities with respect to lobbying and the votes on Nicaragua aid, I think, are subjects of the investigation.

MS. LUBIN: Do you have a copy of the Resolution?

MR. FRYMAN: Sure.

(Counsel proffers document to counsel.)

MS. LUBIN: Thank you.

(Counsel peruses document.)

MR. FRYMAN: Please read back the pending question.

(Whereupon, the Reporter read back the pending question.)

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Did you develop this phrase, "White House strategists targeted 53 representatives," or did someone else give you that phrase?

A I think it was Spitz, but I am not positive.

Q It was not you?

A Well, I mean it is possible that it was me, but I do not recall it.

Q Is it your recollection that 53 Representatives were selected whose votes could be swayed?

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A Yes. Targeted.

Q Targeted?

A Yes.

Q And you do not recall who targeted them?

A I think several people were involved in the process.

Q Who were the several people?

A Spitz Channell, Rich Miller. There were others, but I do not remember who they were. I mean maybe I did at the time, but I do not know or I do not remember now.

Q Was John Roberts one of them?

A I do not think he -- I do not recall that he did that, but it is, again, possible that he did, and I just do not remember it.

Q Was Robert Goodman involved in that?

A That is also possible.

Q Now, did ACT run TV ads in 12 districts?

A To the nearest of my recollection, yes.

Q Now, by "districts," does that refer to Congressional districts, or what?

A Yes.

Q Was this handwritten document transformed into a typewritten or printed document?

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A As I recall, yes.

Q What was that used for?

A We gave a report to John Roberts. I believe I gave it to Rich Miller and he reworked it, or whatever, and then I think it was given to John Roberts, but I am not positive.

Q Anyone else?

A I do not think so. I mean I do not know what John Roberts did with it.

Q Turning to the next note, which has the number 27635 and the date 5/3/85, and I believe that carries on to the next page, and then the following two pages are another copy of those same notes, with some additional written material on them.

Are the notes on 27635 and 36 your handwriting?

A Yes.

Q Were those notes made on or about May 3, 1985?

A Yes.

Q Item Number 2 is "IDC." What does IDC stand for?

A Institutional Development Council.

Q What is that?

A It is a fundraising consulting firm in New Jersey.

Q What was their role in NEPL activities?

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A Well, I know that we have been referring to NEPL to mean all the organizations, but in this particular instance they were working only for the American Conservative Trust, and their role was to implement a program which they -- have a trademark called a "Phone/Mail Program," which is a process of fundraising program of sending a series of letters to an individual, a prospect, and calling them and asking them to pledge a contribution.

Q Were they retained by ACT to do that activity?

A Yes.

Q In May of 1985 or in the Spring of 1985?

A In the spring.

Q Now, what do letters "A and B" mean?

A As I mentioned, the Phone/Mail Program is a series of letters, Letter A and B, and actually I think there are quite a number in the series, and A and B are just the first two that a prospect would receive. That is how they refer to them.

Q There is another note to, "send a copy to Bunker Hunt, asking for permission to use his name."

A Right.

Q What does that refer to?

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A That is Letter A. We wanted to send a letter on Bunker's personal stationery to our prospects saying -- the letter says, basically, "I think ACT is a great idea, and they are going to be sending you a letter in the next few days, and I wish you would read the letter."

Q Did Mr. Hunt consent to that?

A No, he did not.

Q So it was not sent on his stationery?

A Right.

Q Were these letters sent?

A Yes.

Q What stationery were they sent on?

A Boy, that is a good question. I do not recall who finally ended up doing it.

Q The last entry there is, "Send stationery to New Jersey." What does that refer to?

A Well, the letters A and B were going to be sent from the New Jersey Office of Institutional Development Council.

Q But what stationery are you referring to?

A American Conservative Trust.

Q Now also on that page, there is an entry, Number 4,

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for Calero, and under that you have the note, "Get list of material needs," and then "boots, bandages, etc."

What does that refer to?

A We wanted to raise money for the Freedom Fighters directly, and the best way to do that, for fundraising purposes, is -- for the fundraising process, is to get a list of what their needs are, rather than just say, "Well, we need X number of dollars."

Q Was that list provided by Mr. Calero?

A No.

Q Did you get it from some other source?

A No.

Q How did you proceed in your fundraising without the list, then?

MS. LUBIN: Are you asking him to describe how they raised funds for the next two years in all of this, or are you asking something more --

MR. FRYMAN: Well, I am really following up on his answer.

MS. LUBIN: I understand, but the follow-up kind of opens up two years of activities, and it is not that easy to see how you want it narrowed.

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MR. FRYMAN: Well, if Mr. Conrad is having trouble answering it, he can say so.

THE WITNESS: I do not know how to -- if you could put the question differently, maybe I could -- I just do not know how to answer it.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Well, you indicated that you needed a list of material items in your fundraising, and you said you were not able to get such a list.

A Right.

MS. LUBIN: I think he said it would be helpful. It wasn't the only way he could do it.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Well, then, you were able to proceed in your fundraising without the list; is that correct?

A Yes. It is just not as good, to be able to do it.

Q Okay. I will just pass over it.

Now, there is another entry there, "Set first White House briefing date for first week in June." Who was to arrange for that?

A Rich Miller, Frank Gomez.

Q And did they do so?

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A Yss, they did, but it was not in the first week of June.

Q It was later in the summer?

A Later in June.

Q Later in June. And you say you are to "set an appointment to see the slide show to be viewed at the briefing."

A Yes.

Q Who was preparing the slide show?

A I have no idea who was going to prepare it.

Q Did you see the slide show in advance of the briefing?

A No, I did not.

Q You saw it at the briefing for the first time?

A Yes.

Q Was this a slide show of Colonel North's?

A Yes. Who prepared it, I haven't any idea.

Q But you saw it for the first time at the briefing when he showed it?

A Yes.

Q Do you know if Mr. Channell saw it in advance?

A No, he did not see it in advance.

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--

Q Do you know if Mr. Miller saw it in advance?

A That I do not know.

Q Continuing, you have another entry there to "arrange for John Ramsey's trip to Nicaragua." What does that refer to?

A We had the thought to send John Ramsey on a tour of the camps of the Freedom Fighters, so he could see first-hand what was going on.

Q What was the purpose of doing that?

A I guess fundraising texture. I mean --

Q Were you seeking further contributions from Mr. Ramsey from such a trip, or were you intending to use him as a fundraiser to seek funds from other persons, or was there some other reason?

A Oh. Well, the more you know about a subject, the better -- the more involved you -- the more involved you get with the organization and the cause and all that, the more money you contribute, the better spokesperson you are, the better motivated you become. This is just all part of that process, what I would broadly call "donor cultivation."

Q Who was going to pay for John Ramsey's trip?

A It was not discussed.

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Q Did he make such a trip?

A No.

Q Now, there is a reference after that to "John Ramsey's fundraiser dinner date in Wichita Falls, Texas." Did he have such a fundraiser dinner?

A No.

Q Why not?

A Well, it got postponed several times. He could not get enough response, I think, of interest in his town.

Q But it never occurred?

A No.

Q Now, after that, there is the name Billy Monger, M-O-N-G-E-R. Who is Billy Monger?

A He is an oil man, I believe, in -- I think it is Louisiana, maybe Mississippi.

Q Where did you get his name?

A Spitz Channell.

Q Did he become a contributor?

A No.

Q Did you call him?

A No.

Q Why not?

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A It is one of those things we never got to.

Q The next name is Margaret Brock. Who is Margaret Brock?

A She lives in Los Angeles. She is a personal friend of the Reagans, and she is involved in political fundraising in California.

Q Did you call her?

A No.

Q Why not?

A Same problem.

Q Never got around to it?

A Right.

Q Then after that, there is the name Akki Oxner, A-K-K-I, O-X-N-E-R. Who is that?

A He is a doctor in, I think, New Orleans.

Q Is that the correct spelling of his name?

A I do not think so.

Q Is it O-C-H-S-N-E-R?

A Maybe. I do not know how to spell his name.

Q Is he the doctor who has the Ochsner Clinic there in New Orleans?

A It may be. There surely cannot be two.

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Q Where did you get his name?

A From Spitz Channell.

Q Did you call him?

A I did not, no.

Q Did someone else?

A Yes.

Q Who?

MS. LUBIN: If you know.

THE WITNESS: I think it was Cliff Smith, but I am not positive.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Did he make a contribution?

A No. He made a pledge, but no contribution. He welshed.

Q Now, Item 5 on this list is "IBS." What does IBS stand for?

A It is a mistake; it stands for IBC.

Q All right. Finally, Item 11 on the next page relates to Barbara Newington, and your note is to "develop a memo on who she is and what she has done to warrant meeting Ronald Reagan."

Who was to develop such a memo?

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A Spitz.

Q Was that done?

A At various times, I think, yes.

Q Did Mr. Miller prepare such a memo at one time?

A Maybe.

Q Turning to the notes dated May 17, 1985, which is Page 37227, are these your notes?

A Yes.

Q And were they made on or about May 17?

A Yes.

Q Now, under the heading "Calero," there is an item which reads, "Ollie North letters have been sent?" What does that refer to?

A Well, as I recall, Rich Miller proposed, or Frank Gomez proposed that we send some -- I do not even remember the content of the letters, but basically a form letter from Oliver North to, I think, a dozen contributors or something.

Q Had you met Oliver North by this point?

A No.

Q Who had identified him for you? Was that Mr. Gomez?

A Maybe. It was either Rich Miller or Frank Gomez.

Q And it was their idea that Colonel North send such

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letters?

A Well, it may be Spitz Channell's idea. I am not sure.

Q Now, you have under that the entry, "When will we see slide show?" and there is the further notation, "Monday at 3:00 p.m."

A Right.

Q Does that refresh your recollection as to whether you saw the slide show in advance of the briefing?

A Oh, yes, I did see this slide show.

Q Is that the same slide show as the slide show for the briefing?

A No.

Q What slide show does this refer to?

A I have forgot the guy's name -- but anyway, we had a briefing at the State Department where there was a slide show, and we did not use it. We did not like it, we did not like the guy who talked. I have forgotten the guy's name.

Q Is that Colonel Larry Tracy?

A Yes. Very good. Yes, that is who it was.

Q What didn't you like about his slide show?

A It was boring.

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Q Who put you in touch with Colonel Tracy?

A Frank Gomez.

Q The next item is "New information on Nicaragua situation." Do you recall what new information this referred to there?

A Well, we just wanted to get the most current information that was possible to get.

Q Turning to the next note, which is dated 5/20/85, is that your handwriting?

A Yes.

Q And did you make those notes on or about May 20, 1985?

A Yes.

Q At the top, there is the notation, which appears to be "White House tour Monday night." What does that refer to?

A (Witness peruses document.)

I guess that there are tours on Monday night at the White House. I mean I do not know. I do not recall the context of this.

Q Now, under that, there is the name John Roberts, and a list of various items. Are these items you were to raise with Mr. Roberts?

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A Yes.

Q Who told you to do this?

A Spitz.

Q And one of those items is a letter from President Reagan?

A Yes.

Q Did you get such a letter?

A No.

Q Why not?

A I could not answer the question, I do not know.

Q Did you ask for it?

A Yes.

Q You asked Roberts for it?

A Yes.

Q But you never got it?

A No.

Q Item 3 reads "Update on Nicaragua I ads and plans for Nicaragua II ads." Did you report to John Roberts about those subjects?

A Yes.

Q Item 4 is "Nicaragua refugee fundraising program and White House briefings." Did you discuss that with

UNCLASSIFIED

Mr. Roberts?

A Yes.

Q Did you ask him to arrange for White House briefings?

A I do not recall that. I am not sure. We may have.

Q What was the purpose of that entry?

A I think -- it is one of two things, I am not sure which. It is either "We are going to do this and we are letting you know," or it is "We are telling you we want to do the first part, and can you help us with the second part." In other words, "We want to do refugee fundraising, and can we get White House briefings, or to tell you that we are going to do refugee fundraising, and we have already White House briefings scheduled."

Now, this is 5/20 -- I am guessing by that time we already knew.

Q At this point, Mr. Roberts was on the White House staff; is that correct?

A Yes.

Q Did you consider him your principal contact with the White House staff at this point?

A Yes.

Q Turning to the notes dated May 22, 1985, is that your handwriting?

A Yes.

Q Did you make those notes on or about May 22, 1985?

A Yes.

Q Toward the bottom, there is an entry, "Dan Kuykendall/Bunker." What does that refer to?

A Dan Kuykendall knew Bunker Hunt and we, as I said earlier, trying to get Bunker Hunt to sign a letter and let us use his personal stationery to send Letter A out for the American Conservative Trust. Dan Kuykendall was going to intercede on our behalf, to see whether or not he could get Bunker to take our phone call so that we could discuss it with him.

Q Do you know if he did?

A Who?

Q If Mr. Kuykendall spoke to Mr. Hunt?

A Yes, he did.

Q Did you then speak to Mr. Hunt, or someone on NEPL?

A Yes.

Q The only responsibility of Mr. Kuykendall here was to make the initial contact with Mr. Hunt?

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A Yes.

Q To enable you to get through to him?

A Yes.

Q Who spoke to Mr. Hunt after that? Was it you or Mr. Channell?

A Mr. Channell.

Q Were you present?

A I do not think so. I do not recall it.

Q Did Mr. Channel report to you what happened in the conversation?

A Yes.

Q What did he say?

A I do not recall.

Q The subject was using Mr. Hunt's stationery for these letters; that is your understanding?

A Yes.

Q And the basic answer was, no, you could not?

A Right.

Q Turning to the notes dated May 30, 1985, which appear on Page 75725, is that your handwriting?

A Yes.

Q Did you make those notes on or about that date?

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A Yes.

Q Who is Ray Hower?

A I think he is in real estate in Washington, D.C.

Q What is his relationship to Barbara Christian, if any?

A I think I may have the name confused.

Q Barbara Christian is a --

A I know who Barbara Christian is.

Q -- from Kentucky?

A Yes. But Ray Hower is -- I thought he was -- as far as I know, there is no relationship between them.

Q Does that note indicate that Barbara Christian and Ray Hower were to meet together with someone?

A No. I think it means -- I am guessing --

MS. LUBIN: Don't guess.

THE WITNESS: I just do not recall, I really do not.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q What is the Roe Foundation, R-O-E?

A It is a foundation -- the Thomas Roe Foundation -- in, I think, North Carolina.

Q You have an entry, "Roe Foundation for Freedom Spots"?

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A Yes

Q What are the Freedom Spots?

A An advertising program, public education.

Q Is that related to Nicaragua?

A Yes.

Q Did you receive funds from the Roe Foundation for those spots?

A I am not positive. I would have to look at my records.

Q Did you seek funds?

A I think we did, yes.

Q Did NEPL ever receive any funds from the Roe Foundation?

A It is possible. Again, I would have to check my records to be sure.

Q If there were such a contribution, it would be reflected in the books of NEPL?

A Or one of the other organizations, yes.

Q One of the Channell organizations?

A Yes.

Q The Roe Foundation would not pay the Goodman Agency directly for such spots?

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A I would not think so. No. I mean they would -- I do not know.

Q Your understanding of the normal operation is that contributions would come to NEPL or another Channell organization?

A Yes.

Q Then there would be disbursements from that organization to pay for the ads?

A Yes.

Q Are you aware of any instances where there were payments directly to the Goodman Agency for advertisements?

A Not that I recall.

Q Also on these notes, there are the names Justin Dart, Jr., and Peter Dunston. Were they other potential contributors?

A Yes.

Q And that is the only significance of their appearance there?

A Yes.

Q Turning to the notes dated June 3, 1985; again, is this your handwriting?

A Yes.

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Q And were these notes made on or about June 3, 1985?

A Yes.

Q In Item 4, under "Calero," there is a reference to a "military briefing." What does that refer to?

A When we had a briefing, we wanted to -- for fundraising purposes, we wanted the briefing to fall into three parts. The military briefing was one of the three parts.

Q What would be included in the military briefing?

A Military update as to what is happening with the Freedom Fighters.

Q How they are faring militarily?

A Yes.

Q There is also a reference, under "Calero," to soliciting Mr. Gaylord. Who is Mr. Gaylord?

A One of the Forbes 400 wealthiest people in America.

Q Where did you get his name?

A Spitz Channell.

Q Did you solicit him?

A No.

Q Why not?

A He is one of the many prospects we did not get to.

Q Under "IBC," on that same page, there is a reference to the -- is it "Bailey Museum dinner list"?

A Yes.

Q What is that?

A I am forgetting where it is -- it is in Virginia somewhere, and the museum held a fundraising event, some kind of dinner --I do not know -- special event, and it was reported in the Post, Washington Post. I saw the article and saw, "Oh, how wonderful. I would love to have the list of those who attended."

Q There is also the entry, "Jacques Chirac, Mayor of Paris." What is the reason for that entry?

A I do not recall.

Q What was the source of that entry? Was that something Mr. Channell told you?

A I think, actually, Frank Gomez told me about him.

Q Were you planning to solicit Mayor Chirac?

A No. That would not be a reasonable -- although it is not a bad idea. You are catching on.

Q Well, was he to participate in some program, do you think, or was there some other reason?

MS. LUBIN: Can we go off the record?

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MR. FRYMAN: Off the record.

(Discussion held off the record.)

MR. FRYMAN: Back on the record.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Turning to the next page of those notes, under the entry for "Nicaragua II ads," you have a note to "solicit contributors for $25,000," and you have the names Roy Haley, H-A-L-E-Y, Larry Parmen, P-A-R-M-E-N, Bunker Hunt and Langhorn Washburn.

We have spoken of Mr. Hunt and we have also spoken of Mr. Washburn; who are Roy Haley and Larry Parmen?

A Roy Haley is Roz Haley.

Q Roz Haley?

A Yes. She is a contributor who we have also spoken of before; lives in two towns in Texas and, I also believe, the Canary Islands, if I recall properly. Larry Parmen, I do not recall -- I have never met him. I do not know who it is. I do not recall.

Q There is also an entry there to send Lloyd Unsell, U-N-S-E-L-L, IPAA, a schedule of the ads. Who is Lloyd Unsell?

A He is executive director of the Independent

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Petroleum Association of America, I think is the name of it.

Q What was the reason for sending him a schedule of the ads?

A So he could see the kind of thing we were doing.

Q Why did you care about him seeing the kind of thing you were doing?

A Because we wanted to do -- we wanted to do Item 13 with him, on the next page.

Q That is "Oil Spots"?

A Yes.

Q What is that?

A We wanted to do a fundraising campaign for Lloyd Unsell. I am not phrasing it right. We wanted to do an advertising campaign to -- this had to do with the tax changes that were, I think, proposed at that time, to cut out or vastly reduce the oil exploration allowance.

Q Is that unrelated to Nicaragua?

A Yes.

Q All right.

(Interruption to proceedings.)

T4S2 BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q On the next page, Item 11 is Jamaica. Now, we

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talked this morning about Jamaica and, if I recall, you said your only activity, with respect to Jamaica was attending the luncheon in Georgetown.

A No. I also said that there were conversations with Tom Evans on the point.

Q What do these entries on this page with regard to Jamaica signify?

A Well, just further -- I mean I do not -- they signify that we are working on the issue.

Q What does "Campbell for Congress" have to do with the issue?

A It has nothing to do with the issue. It has to do with Tom Evans.

Q What does that have to do with Tom Evans?

A Tom said would we make a contribution to Campbell for Congress. And rather than make a new category, since I already had 15 categories on here, I just stuck it under "Jamaica."

Q What did you understand Tom Evans' relationship to the Campbell for Congress campaign was?

A I knew he was going to hold a fundraiser for him at his home, and he was just asking us, I thought, as a friend

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of Campbell's, that would we give a contribution. As far as I know. I do not know -- there might have been more to it than that, but I do not know.

Q Turning to the notes dated June 5, 1985, headed "Ollie North letters," --

MR. McGOUGH: What is the control number?

MR. FRYMAN: 30118.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Is that your handwriting?

A Yes.

Q Were those notes made on or about June 5, 1985?

A Yes.

Q Do these notes indicate that letters were contemplated from Oliver North to the individuals specified here?

A Yes.

Q Who suggested that?

A I am guessing --

MS. LUBIN: If you do not know or you do not recall, indicate that you do not know.

THE WITNESS: I do not recall.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q At this point in time, you had not met Oliver North?

A No.

Q But you had heard Mr. Gomez mention him?

A Oh, yes.

Q And Mr. Miller?

A Yes.

Q What was the reason for sending letters from Colonel North to these individuals?

A Well, as I said previously, I do not remember what the content of the letters was. I mean it is obviously in some connection with fundraising, but I do not know -- I cannot recall what.

Q Were these individuals all potential contributors?

A Yes.

Q Turning to the next page of notes, which appears to be dated June 30, 1985, it is headed, at the top, "Terrorism Briefing." Do you see that?

A Yes.

Q Is that your handwriting?

A Yes.

Q At the end of that page, there is the reference to Barbara Newington and, "Rich Miller should contact a CT phone sweeping for estimate." We talked about that subject briefly this morning.

Is this Mr. Channell suggesting this to you?

A Yes.

Q On over on the third page of these notes, which is control number Page 30131, there is another reference to Barbara Newington, which states, "Needs to meet the President very shortly, by --" and it appears to be "7/19/85." Again, does that reflect a conversation with Mr. Channell?

A Yes.

Q Do you know the reason for his belief that Mr. Newington needed to meet the President very shortly?

A Mrs. Newington.

Q Mrs. Newington, I am sorry.

A Fundraising cultivation.

Q Anything more specific?

A No.

Q Why the significance of that specific date?

A He loves to put deadlines on things.

Q You believe that is the only reason for that date there?

A Yes.

Q On that same page, under the heading "IBC," there is the note, "Work out relationship with ACT and NEPL," N-E-P-L.

A Excuse me. We need to go back. I think by the 19th because I think he was planning to leave on the 20th on his vacation, so he wanted the meeting arranged with the President before he left.

Q All right. Did that occur; do you know?

A I cannot recall.

Q Going on then to the next item, with regard to IBC, that states "Work out relationship with ACT and NEPL," and then there are the further notations, "In constant touch with us; never say 'no'; our disappointments so far; how they will handle envy and criticism about out."

What do those notes refer to?

A It is about our relationship, the consulting relationship that they had with us.

Q What do you need to work out in the relationship?

A Well, I am from California, that is what we do.

Q Well, what do you have in mind doing here, in this specific instant?

A Well, just, you know, have a nice conversation, to clear the table, clear the air, make sure that everybody is communicating.

Q Well, I guess what I am trying to get at, Mr. Conrad, is what needed clearing, at this point, between IBC and the Channell organizations?

A Well, I mean there is inevitable problems that occur in almost all relationships, and this is just a random selection of various things that we were concerned about, that they needed to hear what we were saying.

Q Well, the first one is, "In constant touch with us." What does that refer to?

A They needed to be in constant touch with us.

Q Were they?

A No.

Q So you were dissatisfied with the frequency of communication?

A Yes.

Q That was one thing?

A Yes.

Q The second item is, "Never say 'no.'" What does that mean?

A They did not ever say no. It appears to mean that they never say no to us but, in fact, what it was, was --

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wait a minute, am I misstating how I am intending it?

Anyway, they did not -- when we would put in a request to them, they never said, "No, we cannot do that." They said they would always do it, but then they did not get it done. This reached epidemic proportions, as you saw, later in the To-Do Lists.

Q All right. Then the next items is, "Our disappointments so far." What did you have in mind there?

A Well, we have a list of -- a lengthy list of items that they were to do that they had not done, and we are paying them a lot of money, so we want to know why they have not done all the things that we are asking them to do.

Q So that is what, basically, that refers to?

A Yes.

Q Finally, your last line is, "How they will handle envy and criticism about us." What does that refer to?

A Well, we were being very successful at this point in raising money and working on the Nicaraguan issue, and we felt that we needed a public relations strategy to deal with the inevitable envy and criticism from other conservatives, for example.

Q Turning to the next page of notes, which is dated

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July 3, 1985, and has the control number Page 75728, Item 5 has -- well, first of all, is this your handwriting?

A Yes.

Q Did you make these notes on or about July 3, 1985?

A Yes.

Q Item 5 reads, "$15,000 in June for direct Contra aid." What does that refer to?

A (Witness peruses document.)

I am not sure.

Q The next, Item 6, is "June 26, $500,000 for Contras." What does that refer to?

A I can make an intelligent guess, but I cannot recall.

Q Your counsel is going to tell you not to make a guess.

A So I do not recall.

Q Well, do you have some recollection of a note that you made in July of 1985 of a significant amount of money to go to the Contras on a particular date?

A No.

Q The next, Item 7, is "June 28 --" would you read that line, please?

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A It says, "June 28, fundraising dinner, netting $100,000 for the Contras."

Q What does that refer to?

A A planned dinner, which I think was held on the 27th or sometime -- I do not know, around there -- where we were hoping to raise $100,000.

Q Were you seeking a substantial contribution from Mrs. Newington for the Contras in June of 1985?

A I believe so.

Q Did you visit her home in Connecticut?

A No.

Q Did Mr. Channell?

A Yes. I do not know if he went to her home.

Q But he visited her in Connecticut?

A Wherever. I do not know if it was in Connecticut.

Q He visited with her?

A Yes.

Q Did she make a substantial contribution?

A I cannot recall. I mean it is easy to check. All we have to do is look at the records.

Q Looking again at that entry, "June 26, $500,000 for the Contras," in light of our discussion about Mr. Channell

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visiting with Mrs. Newington in June of 1985, does that refresh your recollection at all about that entry?

A No.

Q Turning to the next group of notes, which is dated July 8, 1985, control number Page 30123, I believe; what is the reference in Number 12, "Calero/ --" is that "Rizo," R-I-Z-O?

A Yes.

Q What does that refer to?

A As I recall, Rizo was saying something -- Lord, I cannot remember what -- but we wanted -- he was saying something he should not be saying in public, I do not know, I cannot recall. I just do not -- I cannot think of what the topic was but, anyway, we wanted IBC to talk to Calero, to get him to shut Rizo up.

Q For the record, who is Rizo?

A I cannot recall. He is a former Ambassador to the United States from a Central American country, which maybe is Nicaragua -- I am not sure -- and he was head of the Nicaraguan Refugee Fund.

Q And this note signifies that you wanted Mr. Calero to make an effort to cause Mr. Rizo to stop making certain

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statements?

A Yes.

Q Now, the next entry, 13, refers to "Dinner with Colonel North."

A Yes.

Q What does that entry mean?

A We wanted IBC to arrange for us to have a dinner with Colonel North.

Q This is you and Mr. Channell?

A Yes.

Q Why did you want to have dinner with him?

A To talk about worldwide fundraising and to get his cooperation in helping us further in our fundraising efforts.

Q Did such a dinner occur on July 9, 1985?

A Yes.

Q That was at the Hay Adams?

A Yes.

Q That was you, Mr. Channell and Colonel North?

A And Rich Miller and Frank Gomez.

Q It was the five people?

A However many that is, six -- seven of us; isn't that right? Five of us. You are right. Sorry.

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Q Now, Item 3 on this list again refers to Jacques Chirac. Does that refresh your recollection at all about Mr. Chirac?

A Yes. And it is not another Richard Secord, I will tell you that.

Q Is it related to Nicaragua?

A No, in no way.

Q Turning to the next page of notes, which has the control number 37236, and I believe is dated July 12, 1985; is this your handwriting?

A Yes.

Q Were these notes made on or about July 12, 1985?

A Yes.

Q Now, there is an entry in those notes, "Colonel North to Mrs. Newington for dinner." Was that a subject that was discussed at your dinner with Colonel North on the 9th of July?

A Well, Colonel North to attend dinners, in general, was. I do not recall whether specifically it was for Mrs. Newington.

Q Does this note indicate that you will attempt to arrange a dinner between Colonel North and Mrs. Newington?

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A Yes.

Q Was this your idea or was this Mr. Channell's idea?

A Mr. Channell.

Q Turning to the next page, which is dated July 13, 1985, and has the control number 36901; is this your handwriting?

A Yes.

Q Did you make these notes on or about the 13th of July?

A Yes.

Q Now, these notes have an entry concerning a "meeting with Fred Sacher, Ollie North and us in August." Was this Mr. Channell's idea?

A Yes.

Q Did such a meeting occur?

A I do not recall.

Q There is also an entry at the bottom to "request a meeting with Ed Rollins after August 11." What does that refer to?

A Spitz wanted to have a meeting with Ed Rollins when he got back from vacation.

Q What was the purpose of the meeting?

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A I am not sure I ever knew.

Q Did the meeting occur?

A I am not sure.

Q Turning to the next group of notes which is dated 8/6/85, -- before we turn to that, let's go back to the notes dated July 13th. In the middle of the page, on the right-hand side, there is some writing that appears to be headed by the word "Contracts." Can you read that?

A Yes.

Q What does it say?

A "One contractor, three months, $250,000, heavy drops."

Q What does that refer to?

A Renting of an airplane to make supply drops to the Freedom Fighters.

Q Where did you get that information?

A I do not recall.

Q What is the significance of the line drawn through those items?

A Well, it indicates that it is done, but I do not know what I did with it.

Q What is a "heavy drop"?

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A It means it is an airplane that is capable of carrying heavy weight, heavy supplies.

Q So just to expand upon this note, does that mean that you could retain a contractor for a period of three months to make such heavy drops for the total sum of $250,000?

A Yes.

Q This note indicates that someone gave you that information?

A Yes.

Q And you do not recall at this point who gave it to you?

A Right.

Q Now turning to the notes dated August 6, 1985, -- I believe there are two copies included in this volume. The first set has your control numbers 30116-17. Is this your handwriting?

A Yes, sir.

Q Were these notes made on or about August 6, 1985?

A No. I think these were made after that.

Q Why do you say that?

A Because the next document was the one that was made on August 6th.

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Q I think they are the same, are they not?

A Yes, but the first one was made in Venice, Italy, and the second one was made in Washington, D.C., so there is at least a week of time difference between the two.

Q You are going to have to explain that, Mr. Conrad. What pages are you referring to?

A 26895. I guess it is -- yes, 95, and --

Q And 26896?

A Yes. -- were made in Venice, between -- Spitz Channell and I were on vacation and our paths crossed in Venice, Italy, and so we had a meeting -- inevitably. And so we -- this is my notes from the meeting.

Q Yes.

A Then when I came back to the United States -- I do not know, a couple of weeks later, something -- I wrote it out in a different form.

Q If you would compare the two, are you sure these are not just two copies of the same document?

A Yes, they are.

Q They are two copies of the same document?

A I mean one is the copy of the other.

MR. FRYMAN: Could we go off the record.

(Discussion held off the record.)

MR. FRYMAN: Back on the record.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q So Pages 26885 and --

A No, 95.

Q -- 95 and 96, you wrote in Venice, Italy?

A That is correct.

Q And then the preceding two pages, which are 30116-17, which have very similar content, were physically written by you when you returned to Washington, D.C.?

A That is correct.

Q What is the significance of the 8/6/85 date? Was that the date of the original notes in Venice, Italy, --

A Yes.

Q -- or the later notes?

A Yes, the original notes in Venice, Italy.

Q All right. What was the reason for making a second handwritten copy of these notes?

A Well, the first copy in Venice was written on a small piece of paper, and so the second copy I wrote on bigger paper.

Q Other than the difference in the size of the paper, what is the difference?

A That was the only difference.

Q That was the only difference.

A And there is not much reason there. But thank you for asking.

Q All right. Well, let's then focus on the Venice copy, and that copy was made on or about August 6, 1985?

A That is correct.

Q Item 6 refers to Ellen Garwood, and under that it says, "Bring plane to her?" What does that mean?

A We thought that -- the Freedom Fighters wanted to buy an airplane, a used airplane, and we wondered whether or not we should bring the plane to her so she would not have to travel, so she could see it.

Q What was done about that?

A Nothing.

Q Did she buy the plane, or did she buy this used plane you had in mind?

A No.

Q The next item is, quote, "Catalog," closed quote, "of Freedom Fighter needs from Mr. Greene," and I take it, that refers to Colonel North?

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A Yes.

Q What did you have in mind by the "Catalog of Freedom Fighter needs"?

A Well, as I have mentioned before, it is a list of specific material items, with a price tag on them, that we could use for our fundraising purposes.

Q That would be a more effective fundraising technique, to have such a list?

A Yes.

Q Now, the next line is,"Spark to attend ?/Greene to attend?" What does that line mean?

A That means can we get either Adolfo Calero or Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North to go to a meeting with Ellen Garwood at her -- to meet with Ellen Garwood in her home.

Q To seek a contribution from her, or to describe the needs of the Freedom Fighters?

A To describe the needs of the Freedom Fighters.

Q And then the last item, "Date?" I take it, means when --

A When can we arrange this.

Q What was to be included in this catalog of Freedom Fighter needs?

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A Oh, I mean that is not for a fundraiser to determine. You know, you talk to the people that want to buy things, and you say, "What is it that you need?"

Q So you did not care one way or the other?

A Oh, I could care less.

Q It was the same to you if it included boots or if it included missiles?

A Right.

Q Am I correct that you did not care because your objective, as a fundraiser, was to raise the funds?

A Yes.

Q Not the use of the funds?

A Right.

Q There is a reference also in these notes to an October 22 -- I am sorry -- to an August 22 White House briefing, and there are references to John Ramsey concerning that briefing. Was this to be a special briefing for Mr. Ramsey and a group that he would bring?

A Well, as I mentioned previously, the fundraiser that he had wanted to have in Wichita Falls, Texas, did not come through. He could not get enough interest. But I believe Spitz proposed to him that he should bring some of

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--

the -- since there were not enough people for us to make a trip there, maybe the reverse was true, and they could make a trip to Washington.

Q Did that occur?

A No.

Q Do you know why not?

A John Ramsey could not get enough interest.

Q Turning to the preceding page in these notes, Item 2 is "terrorism Conference," and under that there is an entry, "Confirm availability of the farm." What does "the farm" refer to?

A I think it is a CIA training place.

Q [redacted]

A

Q How do you know about it?

A I think Rich and Frank told us about it.

Q Was it available for such conferences?

A No. No.

Q I do not understand this entry, "Confirm availability" of this CIA training place.

A We wanted to see whether it would be possible for us to get it, to hold a conference there. Only we did not --

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the reason I laughed is because, subsequently, I discovered that it is impossible to get in there.

Q You tried?

A Yes.

Q Who told you about "the farm"?

A I think Rich and Frank. It is possible it could be Spitz.

Q Turning to the next page of notes, which are dated August 19, 1985, and has the control number 34965; is this your handwriting?

A Yes.

Q Were these notes made on or about August 19, 1985?

A Yes.

Q Now, the heading at the top is "Greene," and I take it, again, that refers to North?

A Yes.

Q You have written there, "Goal: $5 million." What does that refer to?

A These are notes of a meeting -- it is a combination of things. One is what I was to discuss with Colonel North, and the other part of the list is what he responded. In other words, it is a combination of what I was to talk about

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and what actually was talked about.

We were going to go solicit Bunker Hunt, and we wanted to raise $5 million, and I had to tell Colonel North to prepare for that.

Q Well, is the first entry, "Goal $5 million," that is a note of something you are going to bring up with Colonel North; is that correct?

A Yes.

Q Does that reflect a discussion between you and Mr. Channell?

A Yes.

Q There is the word "catalog" also. Is that word related to the notation, "Goal: $5 million"?

A Yes.

Q What do you mean by "catalog"?

A The catalog of Freedom Fighter needs.

Q Or a list of needs -- a "catalog" means a list, in effect?

A Yes.

Q And this is what, eventually, leads to the two pages of yellow notes that is used in the meeting with Mr. Hunt in Dallas?

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A Yes.

Q Now, at the top there is an entry, "9/9-12, Dallas, World Anti-Communist League." What is the significance of that entry?

A Well, in Dallas at the same time, at 9/9 until 9/12, the World Anti-Communist League was holding its convention.

Q So does that indicate you were thinking of approaching Mr. Hunt in Dallas during this meeting of the World Anti-Communist League?

A I do not know what we were thinking about at the time.

Q What is the relationship between that entry and the entry concerning the catalog, with a goal of $5 million, if there is any?

A There is not any connection.

Q There is another entry on there, "Control over Spark's public statements." What does that refer to?

A Well, as I recall, Adolfo Calero was saying things he should not say in the press -- I do not remember what it was that he was not supposed to say, but it was not furthering his cause very much, and we felt that somebody needed to have

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control over him.

Q And you raised that with Colonel North?

A Yes.

Q What did Colonel North say?

A Nobody had control over him.

Q The next item is "Barbara and Ronald Reagan." What does that mean?

A We wanted to arrange a meeting between Barbara Newington and President Reagan.

Q And you raised that with Colonel North?

A Yes.

Q What did he say?

A He would work on it.

Q And the next items is "Letters from Ronald Reagan."

A Yes.

Q What does that refer to?

A We would like to get some endorsement letters, thank you letters.

Q From?

A From the President.

Q The President to NEPL?

A Or any of the other organizations.

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Q The other organizations. What did Colonel North say about that?

A He would work on it.

Q The next item is "List of days next week when available for one-hour meeting, Ellen Garwood and Fred Sacher." What does that refer to?

A I was supposed to find out when he would be available so that we could bring in these two contributors to talk with him.

Q "He" being Colonel North.

A Yes.

Q What did he say about that? Did he give you some times?

A Yes.

(Interruption to proceedings.)

T5S1 BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q The next item is "Thank you letter to ACT/NEPL," and under that is "Greene and Ronald Reagan." How is that different from the entry above, about letters from Ronald Reagan?

A It is not.

Q So that is duplicative, at least insofar as Ronald

Reagan is concerned?

A Yes.

Q Now, up to that point, are these notes made in advance of your meeting with Colonel North?

A Yes.

Q Now, the next item is "8/22 meeting, military update." Was that made in advance of your meeting with him?

A We are getting into a fuzzy area. I do not recall where it exactly stops.

Q What does that refer to?

A We wanted to have a briefing -- excuse me. Could we go off the record for a minute.

Q Yes.

MR. FRYMAN: Off the record.

(Discussion held off the record.)

MR. FRYMAN: Back on the record.

THE WITNESS: The question again? I am sorry.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q We were talking about the 8/22 meeting and the military update, and what that referred to.

A We wanted to have another briefing, like the one we had in June that Colonel North gave, and I was supposed to tell him, I believe, that there was supposed to be -- that we wanted the military part of it updated.

Q Was that a briefing for potential contributors then?

A Yes.

Q The next item is "Major endorsement letter." What does that mean?

A It duplicates the items above.

Q Again, a letter from the President?

A Yes.

Q Then there are various dates that are given there, October 18th, 17th, September 20th and 19th, and September 12th and 13th; what are those dates?

A Those are alternative dates on which he would be free.

Q So this is information that he gave to you at the meeting?

A Yes.

Q And this is for the meeting with Mr. Hunt in Dallas?

A Yes.

Q Finally, at the bottom, there is an entry, "452,000," and then in parenthesis, "(6 months time 100 hours a month)." What does that refer to?

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A That is, again, an airplane for making drops into -- to the Freedom Fighters in the field.

Q Is this information that Colonel North gave you?

A Yes.

Q What was the reason, to your understanding, that he gave you this information?

A He just mentioned it in passing; I do not recall.

Q Well, were you to seek funds for this item?

A I was not instructed.

Q This relates again to the heavy drops; is that correct?

A I am not sure. The amounts of money are a little different, but I am not sure.

Q But this relates to --

A Some type of aircraft which delivers --

Q -- obtaining services of a certain type of aircraft?

A Yes.

Q And you understand this to mean for a total of $452,000, you can obtain the operation of an aircraft for 100 hours a month for six months?

A Yes.

Q Was this to be one of the items to be included on

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the catalog for Mr. Hunt, or do you recall?

A No. No, it was not specifically to be included. I gave specific instructions to Colonel North that he could put anything on it he wanted to, in the catalog.

Q Turning to the next page, which I believe is dated August 23, 1985, and has the control number 26886; is that your handwriting?

A Yes.

Q Were those notes made on or about August 23, 1985?

A Yes.

Q At the top, there is the entry, "Greene, special thank you to Fred Sacher." What was the reason for a special thank you to Fred Sacher?

A I think he had made a contribution.

Q Then a "letter to Mrs. Pierce"?

A I think she made a contribution also.

Q All right. Now, Mr. Conrad, looking at the next series of notes, or actually the next page of notes, which is control number 37242, and is dated September 3, 1985, and this is a page of notes that has previously been specifically marked as Exhibit 8.

I just have a couple of questions about this page

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of notes. First of all, they are in your handwriting; is that correct?

A Yes.

Q And it was made on or about September 3, 1985; is that correct?

A Yes.

Q Now, to the right, there is the heading, "Dallas," and there are various names under that, beginning with Brad Burns. What is the significance of those names?

A Prospects.

Q Were they people you planned to meet with in Dallas?

A Yes. "Hoped" is the better word.

Q All right. Who is Mary Crowley?

A A wealthy lady, now deceased.

Q Has she been a contributor?

A Yes.

MS. LUBIN: Are we getting to a point soon where it would be convenient to break?

MR. FRYMAN: Off the record.

(Whereupon, at 4:41 p.m., the taking of the deposition was recessed, to reconvene at 9:00 a.m., June 24, 1987, in Room 901 of the Hart Senate Office Building.)

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I have read the foregoing 166 pages, which contain a correct transcript of the answers made by me to the questions therein recorded. with indicated corrections

Daniel Lynn Conrad

DANIEL LYNN CONRAD

- - -

Subscribed and sworn to before me this ________ day of ____________________, 1987.

____

Notary public in and for the District of Columbia:

My commission expires:

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CERTIFICATE OF NOTARY REPORTER

I, Terry Barham, the officer before whom the foregoing deposition was taken, do hereby certify that the witness whose testimony appears in the foregoing transcript was duly sworn by me; that the testimony of said witness was taken by me and thereaftrer reduced to typewriting by me or under my supervision; that said deposition transcript is a true record of the testimony given by said witness; that I am neither counsel for, related to, nor employed by any of the parties to the action in which this deposition was taken; and, further, that I am not a relative or employee of any attorney or counsel employed by the parties hereto, nor financially or otherwise interested in the outcome of the action.

Terry Barham, Notary Public in
and for the District of Columbia

My commission expires May 15, 1989.

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SELECT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE COVERT
ARMS TRANSACTIONS WITH IRAN
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
AND
SELECT COMMITTEE ON SECRET MILITARY ASSISTANCE
TO IRAN AND THE NICARAGUAN OPPOSITION
UNITED STATES SENATE

- - -

Wednesday, June 24, 1987
Washington, D.C.

Continued deposition of DANIEL LYNN CONRAD, taken on behalf of the Select Committees above cited, pursuant to notice, commencing at 9:28 a.m. in Room 901 of the Hart Senate Office Building, before Terry Barham, a notary public in and for the District of Columbia, when were present:

4178

Partially Declassified/Released on 1-12-88
under provisions of E.O. 12356
by N. Menan, National Security Council

For the House Select Committee:

THOMAS FRYMAN, Esq.
Staff Counsel

SPENCER OLIVER, Esq.
Associate Counsel

KEN BUCK, Esq.
Assistant Minority Counsel

For the Senate Select Committee:

THOMAS McGOUGH, Esq.
Associate Counsel

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For the deponent:

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Washington, D.C. 20007-3841

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P R O C E E D I N G S

T1S1_

Whereupon,

DANIEL LYNN CONRAD

resumed as a witness and, having been first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

EXAMINATION BY COUNSEL FOR THE

HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Mr. Conrad, directing your attention again to Deposition Exhibit 9 for identification, would you look in that exhibit at notes dated September 9, 1985.

A (Witness peruses document.)

Okay.

Q On that page, there is an Item 6 which is marked with a star and reads, "Tom Signhorst," S-I-G-N-H-O-R-S-T, "wants our 12 names in Dallas." Is that in your handwriting?

A Yes.

Q Would you explain that entry?

A Tom wanted some prospects who were contributors of ours for him to send letters to for his foundation.

Q First, identify for the record who Tom is again.

A Well, at this time he was -- I'm not sure what his position title was -- Executive Director, perhaps, of a foundation that was co-chaired by Senator Grassley and the representative from Oregon, whose name I have forgotten.

Dennis -- I have forgotten the last name.

Q What had been your prior association with --

A Denny Smith. Denny Smith.

Q What had been your prior association with Mr. Signhorst, as of September 1985?

A Just a friend, I guess; consultant. I think he served on the boards of some of our organizations, maybe. I am not positive exactly.

Q What had his positions been, other than working for this organization that you just referred to?

MS. LUBIN: If you recall.

THE WITNESS: He worked for Senator Grassley. I can't remember in what capacity.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Had your association with him begun when he had worked with Senator Grassley?

A When he had what?

Q When he had worked for Senator Grassley.

Q I don't remember who he was working for exactly, when I first met him. I just don't know. It was either with this foundation or with Grassley. I don't know.

Q You say he had been a consultant to NEPL?

A I am not sure. I am really unclear on the point. I cannot answer the question. I don't know. I would have to look at my other record.

Q What was his area of expertise for consultation to an organization such as NEPL, if you know?

A Well, he was a political fundraiser.

Q And if NEPL had retained him as a consultant, it would have been in that capacity?

MS. LUBIN: Are you asking him to speculate?

MR. FRYMAN: Well, he said that --

MS. LUBIN: I understand what he said; he doesn't recall.

MR. FRYMAN: All right. I will withdraw the question.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Now, your note refers to "our 12 names in Dallas."

A Yes.

Q What is "our 12 names"?

A I believe I said 12 of our contributors in the Dallas area.

Q Was Mr. Hunt one of those?

A I could not tell you who was on the list. I would have to look.

Q Where would the list be?

A Well, it is on our master list. I mean I would have to get a printout of the list and we would have to look at it and see.

Q You understand that that reference refers to all the contributors on the master list that are located in Dallas?

A Yes. I don't know; it might be. I don't know. The word "all," if you are saying all the names, I don't know. It might have been a selection of the names, but I think it was all of them.

Q The 12 significant contributors in Dallas?

A Yes.

Q Do you know why Mr. Signhorst wanted those names?

A Yes. He wanted to send them a letter to ask them to contribute to his foundation.

Q Now, Item 11 on that page reads, "Call Green re J. ' Lyon." What does that refer to?

A We wanted to find out from Colonel North whether he knew Jimmy Lyon, who was a banker in Houston.

Q Did you call him?

A I don't think I phoned him. I think I went to see him.

Q Did he know him?

A I can't recall. I don't think he did. I think he might have heard of him, but I don't think he knows him.

Q What was the reason for calling Colonel North about Jimmy Lyon?

MS. LUBIN: He said he didn't call.

THE WITNESS: Well, we were constantly trying to

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find connections, and this was just one of those that we were fishing for.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Where did you get Lyon's name?

A Spitz had known him previously, or met him previously, something.

Q I am not clear then, Mr. Conrad, what was the reason for making a note to call Colonel North about Jimmy Lyon if Mr. Channell had already known Jimmy Lyon.

A I guess to be able to get in --

MS. LUBIN: If you recall. If you don't recall, we don't want you to speculate.

MR. FRYMAN: I think that is a constant throughout. If he doesn't recall, he shouldn't speculate. The questions call for his recollection.

MS. LUBIN: I understand. But it is early in the morning, and I think we're all a little bit out of practice, and I wanted to refresh his recollection of the use -- it seemed to me that he was speculating.

THE WITNESS: Would you repeat the question.

MR. FRYMAN: If the Reporter would read the question back.

(Whereupon, the Reporter read back the pending question.)

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THE WITNESS: Well, the purpose was to get more connection with him than we already had.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q What do you mean by "more connection"?

A I don't know how to answer that. Find somebody that knew him better than we did.

Q What was the reason that you thought Colonel North knew Jimmy Lyon?

A We didn't know.

Q You just had a hunch that he might?

A Yes.

Q Turning in that exhibit, Mr. Conrad, to the notes with the date October 3, 1985, on them.

A Yes.

Q There is an entry at the bottom, "List of topics to discuss with Green." What does that refer to?

A (Witness peruses document.)

I do not recall.

Q Is that a note to yourself?

A Yes.

Q That is in your handwriting?

A Yes.

Q And you made it on or about October 3, 1985?

A Yes.

Q Do you know if such a list of topics was developed?

A I do not recall.

Q Turning to the next page, which are notes dated October 7, 1985; is that in your handwriting?

A Yes.

Q And were those notes made on or about October 7, 1985?

A Yes.

Q There is a note, "Green," then an arrow, and then the name "Ramsey," and then a note in parenthesis, "Late on 10/16," and there is a check mark by that line. What does that line refer to?

A (Witness peruses document.)

That Ramsey was coming to town and that he could meet with Colonel North in the afternoon of 10/16 -- late in the evening, I am sorry.

Q What does the check mark mean?

A I do not recall.

Q Turning to the next page, which is dated 10/18/85, and it has the control number at the bottom 37517; is that your handwriting?

A Yes.

Q Is everything on that page your handwriting?

A I don't think so.

Q What is not?

A The date and the numbers out to the side, "CH042271," whatever that is.

MR. McGOUGH: Just for the record, the "CH" is the Senate control number.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q All right. Do you know who placed the date on there?

A I have no idea.

Q Do you know if you made those notes on or about October 18, 1985?

A I don't know. I would have to check my other documents.

Q What other documents would you refer to?

A This is on the back of a "To-do list," and the to-do list was dated -- I can't recall the date, and I have --

MS. LUBIN: This has been separated. This is not how it was produced here.

MR. FRYMAN: Let's go off the record a minute.

[Briefly off the record.]

MR. FRYMAN: Back on the record.

During the break, we have looked at the documents, as produced by counsel for the Channell organizations, and we have noted that the notes which are included in Exhibit 9 that we have just been discussing, which have Control Page 37517 at the bottom, are contained on the back of a type-written sheet which has the Control Number 37516, which has the typewritten date October 18, 1985.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Now Mr. Conrad, does that refresh your recollection if you made the notes on 37517 on or about October 18, 1985?

A Yes.

Q Did you make them on or about that date?

A Yes.

MR. McGOUGH: Could I interject just one question?

It is on the back of an agenda for October 18, 1985. Would you have put that agenda together on or about October 18th, 1985, or would have put it together sometime prior to October 18, 1985?

THE WITNESS: Sometime prior, but just a very brief time prior.

MR. McGOUGH: So, essentially, --

THE WITNESS: Maybe a day prior, for example.

MR. McGOUGH: But the front page, the agenda itself, would have been put together sometime shortly before October 18, 1985?

THE WITNESS: Yes.

MR. McGOUGH: Do you recall when the handwritten notations were put on there?

THE WITNESS: Yes.

MR. McGOUGH: And when was that?

THE WITNESS: About the same time.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Now, returning to the handwritten notations, would you read those for the record.

A Item number one is "multi-frequency radios," and underneath that it says "33K each," which is $33,000; and the item two says "50 SAM missiles, $1.1 million, and underneath that it says, "$22,000 each times 50," and then there is a line and below that, it says, "leaks down there."

Q First of all, is this information that you obtained from a conversation with someone?

A Yes.

Q Who was that person?

A Colonel North.

Q Where did that conversation occur?

A In the Old Executive Office Building.

Q And you were meeting with him face to face when you made these notes?

A Yes.

Q All right. What do these notes refer to? What is item one, "multi-frequency radios, $33,000 each"?

A They are special radios that the Freedom Fighters would use, that kept communications secure.

Q What was the reason that that was the subject of discussion between you and Colonel North?

A He had mentioned it in a briefing, public briefing.

Q Why did the subject come up with your meeting with him?

A I wanted to find out much it cost.

Q For what reason?

A So that we could ask contributors.

Q Did you raise the subject of radios with him?

A Yes.

Q And you asked him the cost of the radios?

A Yes.

Q Did you discuss anything else about the radios?

A He said something else, but I don't recall what it was.

Q Now, the second item refers to 50 SAM missiles. What are SAM missiles?

A Surface to Air missiles.

Q How did that subject come up in your discussion with Colonel North?

A I asked him how many they needed.

Q What did he say?

A Fifty.

Q Did you also ask him the cost of the missiles?

A Yes.

Q And he said, "$22,000 each"?

A Yes.

Q And that was a total cost of $1.1 million; is that

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correct?

A Yes.

Q What was the reason you asked him these questions about the missiles?

A Spitz asked me to find out how much each of these items cost.

Q What was the reason you were asking about this specific item?

A He didn't tell me.

Q Had Colonel North discussed SAM missiles in briefings before?

A Oh, yes.

Q So you were aware that this was a military item that he believed was needed, or he had indicated was needed by the resistance in Nicaragua?

A Yes.

Q Did you have some particular contributor in mind for a donation, with respect to these items?

A No.

Q What did you do after you got this information about the cost of these two types of items?

A I told Spitz.

Q Then what did you do?

A Nothing.

Q What did Spitz do?

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A I don't know.

Q Did you seek contributions for these two items?

A I didn't.

Q Do you know if anyone in NEPL did?

A Yes.

Q Who?

A Cliff Smith.

Q From whom did he seek contributions?

A Mrs. Patty Beck.

Q When did this occur?

A On or about the 18th of October.

Q Did you discuss these items with Mr. Smith?

A I do not recall.

Q Do you know how Mrs. Beck was selected as a potential contributor for these items?

A No, I do not.

Q But you know that Mr. Smith sought a contribution from Mrs. Beck?

A Yes.

Q Was that for both the missiles and the radios?

A No.

Q Which?

A The missiles.

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Q How do you know that he sought a contribution from her?

A I don't know how to answer that.

Q Well, did he tell you?

A Yes.

Q Did Mr. Channell also tell you?

A I can't recall if he mentioned it.

Q But you recall Mr. Smith told you?

A Yes.

Q Did you discuss it with Mrs. BecK?

A No.

Q So at least one source of information was Mr. Smith?

A Yes.

Q Do you know if Mr. Smith sought a contribution in a telephone conversation with Mrs. BecK?

A No.

Q Do you know if it was in a face-to-face meeting?

A Yes.

Q Where did that occur?

A In the Hay Adams Hotel.

Q Do you know if anyone else was present?

A I do not know.

MR. McGOUGH: Did you say when this place? Did you say when?

THE WITNESS: Yes. On or about the 18th.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Did Mrs. BecK make a contribution to acquire SAM missiles?

A Yes.

Q How much did she contribute?

A $44,000.

Q Would that be for two missiles?

A Yes.

Q Did Mr. Smith tell you that?

A Would you clarify the question?

Q Yes. Did Mr. Smith tell you that Mrs. Bec~~h~~K had made a contribution of $44,000 for two missiles, or to acquire two missiles?

A No.

Q How did you learn that?

A I think from the Accounting Department.

Q Who was that?

A I don't remember who was there at the time.

Q Well, now did you learn from the Accounting Department that Mrs. Bec~~h~~K had made a contribution of a specific amount?

A Yes.

Q Did they inform you of the purpose for which that amount had been contributed?

A No.

Q Where did you learn that? Was that from Mr. Smith?

A Yes.

Q Did she make this contribution in cash?

A Check.

Q Check -- not in stock, but in currency, in effect?

A Yes.

Q Who else was solicited for a contribution for SAM missiles?

A I do not know.

Q Mrs. Bec~~H~~K is the only individual you know about?

A Yes.

Q Who was solicited for a contribution for radios?

A I do not recall.

Q Now, there is another note on that page that reads "leaks down there." What does that refer to?

A I do not recall.

Q Was that something Colonel North told you?

A Yes.

Q What does the word "leaks" in that context mean?

A I do not recall.

Q Was it press leaks?

A I do not recall.

Q Turning to the notes dated December 9, 1985.

A Yes.

Q There is an entry at the top, "Green: Paul Pressler," P-R-E-S-S-L-E-R. What does that refer to?

A I do not recall.

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Q Who is Paul Pressler?

A I do not know.

Q Do you know where you got the name?

A I don't.

Q That is your handwriting?

A It is.

Q Turning to the next page in this volume, the notes dated December 16, 1985 -- before we turn to that page, however, I have on other question on the page we were just looking at, December 9.

There is an entry toward the bottom that reads, "Barbara Studley = Singlaub donor." Would you explain that entry?

A Yes. This is meant to indicate that she is a prospect for us, and that is to say she is a Singlaub contributor.

Q Where did you get her name?

A From Colonel North.

Q Did you know who she was?

A Well, I saw her but I did not meet her.

Q What did you understand her position to be?

A Position?

Q Yes. Her occupation, her position with an organization?

A I had no idea.

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Q You had no idea?

A No.

Q Where did you see her?

A In the Hay Adams Hotel.

Q Did Colonel North identify her as a Singlaub donor?

A Yes.

Q What else did he say about her?

A That is all that I recall.

Q Did he say how much she had donated to General Singlaub?

A Well, he may have; I don't recall.

Q Do you recall if he indicated any approximate amount, or if he indicated she was a significant donor?

A Yes. A significant donor.

Q Okay. Was that occasion when you saw her, with Colonel North present with you, was that on or about December 9, 1985?

A I do not recall.

Q It was before then, because you made these notes on or about December 9; is that correct?

A Yes.

Q Would it have been within a period of a few weeks before then?

A Yes.

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Q All right. Now turning to the next page, which I

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referred to a minute ago, dated December 16, 1985, which is identified at the bottom 28451. This is your handwriting, I take it?

A Yes.

Q Is that correct?

A Yes.

Q And are these notes you made on or about December 16, 1985?

A Yes.

Q Now, the first line says, "1986 goal, $12.7 million," as I interpret the writing. Is that correct?

A Yes.

Q What does that refer to?

A This is our attempt at long-range planning.

Q Is that your fundraising goal for 1986?

A Yes.

Q You say, "This is our attempt at long-range planning." Is this the attempt of you and Mr. Channell?

A Yes.

Q Does this reflect a discussion that you had with Mr. Channell?

A Yes.

Q Anyone else?

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A No.

Q Now, the next line is "One, Nicaragua/Green,

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$7 million by May." What does that refer to?

A For the direct aid to the Freedom Fighters, we wanted to raise $7 million by May.

Q Was that any particular type of aid?

A No, just direct aid.

Q Any sort of direct aid?

A Right.

Q What is the significance of the phrase "Nicaragua/Green"?

A It is just to differentiate it from the next item.

Q Does that indicate that Colonel North was to determine how this aid was to be distributed?

A No.

Q What was Colonel North's role, then, with respect to this direct aid for Nicaragua?

A To give briefings.

Q Well, he also had a role in the distribution of the aid, did he not?

A Well, not as far as we knew.

Q What did you understand was happening to the funds that you were transferring to Mr. Miller's organizations?

A What was my understanding?

Q Yes.

A About what was happening?

Q Yes.

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A They were being given directly to the Freedom Fighters.

Q And who was determining how those funds were being distributed?

A Rich Miller.

Q Did you understand Colonel North had any role in that?

A I didn't know.

Q You didn't know one way or the other?

A Right.

Q At that time?

A Right.

Q Now, Item Two reads, "Nicaragua, public diplomacy, $3 million." Is that correct?

A Yes.

Q What do you mean by "Nicaragua, public diplomacy?

A Well, that is our Public Diplomacy Program, our program of press relations and speakers going around in different areas, and so on.

Q Is that what later was known as the --

A Central American Freedom Program.

Q -- CAFP?

A Yes.

Q And was that related to legislation pending in the Congress?

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A I believe it was. Yes. I am just trying to remember this particular time. Yes, I think it was.

Q Now, the third item is "Elections, 1.4 million," and you have under there "$750,000, three independent expenditures, $400,000 expenses, and $300,000 contributions." What do those entries refer to?

A Those are the amounts of money we wanted to raise for each of those categories.

Q What is "three independent expenditures"?

A Well, we wanted to target --

MS. LUBIN: May I ask, first, does this have anything to do with Nicaragua?

THE WITNESS: No.

MS. LUBIN: I don't think it is within the scope.

MR. FRYMAN: Well, we can take a break and get the resolution. I thought we went over that the last time, Elaine. You raised the same point, and we concluded this is an appropriate line of questioning.

MS. LUBIN: My recollection of the resolution was that it said about any activity on electioning that had to do with Nicaragua, and it did not say any activity with elections.

I will be glad to let it go until later.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

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Q Did the election activity referred to here relate to Nicaragua in any way?

A No.

Q What was the criteria for selecting the campaigns that you would be involved in?

A That was unclear.

Q So it could have been related to Nicaragua?

MS. LUBIN: He said it wasn't.

THE WITNESS: No.

MR. FRYMAN: Well, he said it was also unclear, so I think I am entitled.

MS. LUBIN: I am sorry. I don't think ~~his immunity extends~~ -- that your order~~ed~~ extends beyond your mandate. I don't think your mandate extends to these questions. I am going to have a problem with it. We can put it off. You can wait until the end and put them in writing, but we are going to have a problem with that area.

MR. FRYMAN: Well, I think when the witness answers that it is unclear how an election was selected, it is an appropriate follow-up question.

MS. LUBIN: I disagree, and I am going to instruct him not to answer.

MR. FRYMAN: All right.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Now, Item Four is "SDI ending in July." What does that refer to?

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A A public education program that we wanted to start on the subject of SDI.

Q That is the Strategic Defense Initiative?

A Yes.

Q That is commonly known as "Star Wars"? Is that correct?

A Yes.

Q Item Five reads, "Bush, entire year, $1 million." What does that refer to?

A We wanted to have a program of what we called "Bush Forums," to have Vice President Bush speak at a number of private gatherings that we would arrange around the United States -- on foreign policy topics, not political.

Q How was that related, if it was, to Nicaragua?

A It wasn't.

Q Turning to the next page of notes, which are dated January 6, 1986; are those notes in your handwriting?

A Yes.

Q Were those notes made on or about January 6, 1986?

A Yes.

Q About the fourth line down, there is a line that begins, "Sacher," S-A-C-H-E-R. Do you see that?

A Yes.

Q Would you read that line?

A It says, "Sacher program update from Rich," and

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then in parenthesis it says, "(B-roll plans)."

Q What does that refer to?

A Well, Fred Sacher was a contributor to the Central American Freedom Program and, specifically, we used a good deal of his money for making films. And we wanted to get an update from Rich Miller on how the films were used in B-roll footage, which is broadcasting over -- in short, it is a news release over the air.

Q All right. Now, there is another entry further down on that page that reads, "Ask Bunker about stock," and then there is a check mark by that. What does that refer to?

A This is about the stock that he contributed to us. I am sorry -- the stock that he -- no, I am wrong. I don't recall. I don't recall.

Q Did Bunker contribute stock?

A Not that I recall.

Q Did he contribute stock to anybody that you are aware of?

A Not that I am aware of.

Q Is this a note you made of a conversation with Mr. Channell?

A I don't recall that either.

Q Now, the check mark by that line, is that your check mark?

A Yes.

Q What is the significance of placing a check mark by a line such as that? Does that indicate you performed the item indicated?

A Generally.

Q So does that indicate that you ask Bunker about the stock?

A I do not recall.

Q Now, we talked earlier about a contribution that Mr. Hunt made to NEPL, which was in the form of two checks for $237,500, in 1985, and then it turned out that one of those checks Mr. Hunt wanted to treat as a loan.

A Yes.

Q Then I believe in 1986 one of those checks -- or the loan was repaid, and then he, in turn, made a contribution in approximately the same amount as the amount that was repaid.

A Yes.

Q You are familiar with that?

A Yes.

Q Now, are you familiar, are you aware of any other contribution of any sort that Mr. Hunt made to NEPL or any of Mr. Channell's organizations?

A I would have to check my records.

Q Well, what do you recall?

A I don't recall any other contributions, but there may be. I would have to ask Accounting.

Q Do you recall any contribution that Mr. Hunt ever made in the form of stock?

A No.

Q Do you recall any contribution that he made in the form of stock that was related to Nicaragua but did not go directly to one of Mr. Channell's organizations?

A No.

Q At the top of that page, there is a [illegible] "Lisa at E.F. Hutton." What does that refer to?

A That is where we have -- it is our brokerage house, and Lisa is a secretary to our broker.

T1S2 Q Under the entry, "Ask Bunker about stock," there is a line to "Call Sulka in Philadelphia." What does that refer to?

A I don't know. I don't recall.

Q Do you understand Sulka to be a menswear supply store?

A Yes.

Q Do you think it refers to some purchase of menswear?

A Yes.

Q Nothing other than that?

A No.

Q Turning to the next page in this volume, which is dated January 8, 1986, and which has the control number

27704; does this page contain your handwriting?

A Yes.

Q And were those notes made on or about January 8, 1986?

A Yes.

Q Now, at the top, there are several notes under a line that reads, "January 20-February 5." Do you see that?

A Yes.

Q One of those reads, "Green's $400,000 on Tuesday." What does that refer to?

A I don't recall.

Q Well, let's start with the first one, then, which reads, "Bunker's $237,500 on Monday." What does that refer to?

A I don't recall that either.

Q Well, does that indicate that you needed that amount of money for Bunker on Monday?

A I just don't recall. I am sorry.

Q Who gave you this information? Or to phrase it another way, did you make these notes in connection with a conversation that you had with Mr. Channell?

A I just don't recall.

Q Did you make these notes in connection with a conversation you had with Colonel North?

A I don't recall that.

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Q To the left there is the name "Sasakawa," S-A-S-A-K-A-W-A. Who is Sasakawa?

A He is the wealthiest man in Japan.

Q What does the "87" refer to there?

A His age.

Q Do you know the source of writing his name on this page?

A Yes.

Q What was the source?

A An employee of Public Management Institute.

Q Gave you the name?

A Yes.

Q And is that true of the other names that are written under Sasakawa?

A No.

Q What does "Gene in Philadelphia" refer to?

A It is an advertising person.

Q What was the reason for contacting him?

A We were constantly looking for new advertising people.

Q Who gave you his name?

A I don't recall.

Q There is a note to "Ask Jeff Bell."

A Yes.

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Q What is the reason for that note?

A I don't know.

Q Turning to the next page, which is dated January 13, 1986; is that your handwriting?

A Yes.

Q Were those notes made on or about January 13, 1986?

A Yes.

Q Toward the bottom, there is the phrase "Green shopping list due 1/15/86," and then there is a circle around that, and various lines drawn out from the circle, which appear to be indicated to attract attention to that item.

Did you draw the circle and make those lines?

A Yes.

Q Was that intended to highlight that entry for yourself?

A Yes.

Q What was the reason for doing that?

A It needed to be a high priority item.

Q What was the item? WHat did "Green shopping list due 1/15/86" refer to?

A We needed a list of items that the Freedom Fighters needed.

Q For what purpose?

A For fundraising.

Q And did you get such a list from Colonel North?

A No.

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Q Why not?

A I don't know the answer.

Q Did you ask him for one?

A Yes.

Q But you never got such a list?

A Right.

Q Are you aware that Colonel North had lists which he showed to various potential contributors at different times?

A Well, I saw the one that he gave to Bunker Hunt, of course.

Q Did he give it to Bunker Hunt or did he show it to him?

A Well, good question.

Q In any case, you saw him show a list to Bunker Hunt?

A Yes.

Q Did you see him show a list to anyone else?

A Not that I can recall at the moment.

Q Did you have discussions with Colonel North about developing such a shopping list?

A Yes.

Q Did you have discussions with him about the types of items to be included on the list?

A No.

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Q You just said you wanted a list?

A Yes.

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Q You didn't care what was on it?

A That's right.

Q Did you give him a dollar figure that you wanted the list to total?

A Not at this time.

Q Did you later?

A Earlier.

Q Earlier. Oh, that was in connection with the Hunt list?

A Yes.

Q At this point, you just wanted a general list of items that you could use to present to your potential contributors?

A That is right.

Q Now, at the top of that page, there is the entry "Green:" and then [redacted] and then a line is driven through [redacted] [redacted] What does that refer to?

A I don't recall.

Q Was that a note you made during a conversation with Colonel North?

A I don't recall.

Q Was it a note you made during a conversation with Mr. Channell?

A I don't recall.

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Q Directing your attention to the next line that reads, "Fawn: status on White House staff briefing," what does that refer to?

A I don't recall that either.

Q Turning to the next page, which is dated 1/27/86, which has control number 79114; is that your handwriting?

A Yes.

Q Were those notes made on or about January 27, 1986?

A Yes.

Q At the top there is a note, "Harper, referred by Secretary Shultz." Would you explain that entry?

A Yes. Colonel North told me that -- I have referred to this before.

Q Right.

A Colonel North told me that Secretary Shultz -- I am sorry. Colonel North told me that Mr. Harper -- we would be receiving a call from a Mr. Harper at our office, and he was being referred to us through Secretary Shultz, and he wanted to contribute directly to the Freedom Fighters.

Q Right.

A And this was a note to me to be on the lookout for that call when it arrived.

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Q Who did you understand that Mr. Harper was?

A Someone who had come up to the Secretary in some function and said he wanted to give directly to the Freedom

Fighters.

Q Are those phone numbers above Mr. Harper's name, are those Mr. Harper's phone numbers?

A No.

Q What are those numbers?

A My father's phone number.

Q Did you receive a call from Mr. Harper?

A I didn't, no.

Q Did anyone at NEPL, to your knowledge?

A Not that I know of.

Q Do you know if Mr. Harper made a contribution to NEPL?

A I do not know.

Q Now, under Mr. Harper's name, there is an entry, "Richard Pina's logic," and under that, "National security matter." What does that refer to?

A (Witness peruses document.)

I don't recall.

Q Do you know the basis for that note, i.e., was that a conversation with Mr. Channell?

A I don't recall.

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Q To the right of that entry, there is a reference to "Dinner," and under that, "Elliott Abrams, Rachel Abrams, Davis, David Fischer and Martin Artiano." Was there a dinner with that group of individuals?

A No.

Q What does that entry refer to?

A It means we wanted to have one.

Q But you did not?

A But we did not, no.

Q Did you try to arrange such a dinner?

A Yes.

Q How?

A By asking David Fischer and Marty Artiano to arrange it.

Q Do you know why the dinner did not occur?

A No.

MR. McGOUGH: Could I interject here for just a second and go back to Richard Pina.

Do you know who richard Pina is?

THE WITNESS: Yes.

MR. McGOUGH: Who is he?

THE WITNESS: He is a -- I don't know what you call him -- consultant with --

MR. McGOUGH: Cassidy and Associates?

THE WITNESS: Thank you. Cassidy and Associates.

MR. McGOUGH: Under what circumstances did you come in contact with Mr. Pina?

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THE WITNESS: Rich Miller introduced us to him.

MR. McGOUGH: For what purpose?

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THE WITNESS: To help us in the -- to see if he could help us in the Central American Freedom Program.

MR. McGOUGH: Did you ever have any discussions with Mr. Pina regarding supplies to the Contras?

THE WITNESS: Not that I recall.

MR. McGOUGH: Anything other than public aspects of the Contra effort?

THE WITNESS: No.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Finally, on that page, on the lower right-hand side, there is a reference, "5:00 p.m. Tuesday, deadline for private RR meeting." What does that refer to?

A I don't know.

Q You have no recollection of that?

A I have no recollection.

Q Under that there is a reference, "Receipts to Fred Sacher ASAP," which I take it means "as soon as possible."

A Right.

Q What does that refer to?

A I don't recall that either.

Q Finally, on that page, what is the reference to "liquid electroplexing" and "Çalleon Arsenide"?

A Marty Artiano had an investment that he wanted us to see -- "us" is Spitz Channell and myself, to see whether we knew anyone who would be interested in a small venture,

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start-up. Nothing to do with Nicaragua.

Q All right.

MR. FRYMAN: Let's take a break for a few minutes.

[Whereupon, a brief recess was taken.]

MR. FRYMAN: Back on the record.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Directing your attention, Mr. Conrad, to the notes in this volume dated January 29, 1986, Page 37260 at the bottom. There are notes at the top, "Friday, A.M. Green meetings," and then "10:00, 10:30, and 11:00." Do these notes refer to proposed private meetings with Colonel North in connection with the White House briefing at the end of January 1986?

A Yes. May I also add something?

Q Yes.

A You asked a question earlier today about whether I recalled -- I don't remember how you exactly worded the question, but did I know that Colonel North was directing the flow of the money that [illegible] given to Rich Miller.

Q Right.

A And, as I said, I don't recall, but there is an incident that I recall that may be useful in that connection, which was at the July 9th, 1985, meeting at the Hay Adams Hotel, and Colonel North -- we were concerned that the money would get not directly to the -- to be used directly by the

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Freedom Fighters, but would go to the retirement accounts of the Freedom Fighter leaders.

Some of our contributors were concerned about this issue. He said -- Colonel North said, "I'll make sure that it is directly used for the purpose for which it is given," which doesn't directly mean that he controlled it. And we didn't inquire what he meant by that, but that is about the closest thing I can recall.

Q Had he suggested that you transmit the funds through Mr. Channell -- through Mr. Miller's organization?

A Yes.

Q All right. Turning to the next page of notes, which is also dated 1/29/86, which has the control number 37261. Are these notes relating to the program at the White House briefing in late January 1986?

A Yes.

Q Now, the next page of notes in the volume dated February 4, 1986, which has the control number 27406; this, again, is your handwriting, I take it?

A Yes.

Q And these were notes made on or about February 4?

A Yes.

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Q The third line refers to "Elliott Abrams' CA trip," and then "Eli Jacobs meeting on February 6." What does that refer to?

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A We wanted to take Elliott Abrams on a trip to California to see some contributors, and Eli Jacobs was a contributor of ours who was a friend of Elliott Abrams, or they knew each other quite well, something; and we wanted to arrange a meeting between them, I believe, on 2/6.

Q What developed?

A Well, nothing happened on the California trip, and I don't recall whether Mr. Jacobs had a meeting on the 6th.

Q Did you arrange for Mr. Abrams to meet with any of your contributors or potential contributors?

A No.

Q Did you attempt to?

A I didn't, no.

Q Do you know if anyone else did?

A It is possible, but I don't know.

Q But to your knowledge, he did not meet with the contributors?

A No.

Q Now, "CA" in that line definitely refers to California?

A Yes.

Q Not Central America?

A No.

Q Now, there is another entry on that page which reads, "Green shopping list." Do you see that?

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A Yes.

Q Is that the same shopping list that you referred to earlier?

A Yes.

Q Now, there is a line drawn through that entry on this page. What is the significance of the line drawn through it?

A Well, I have raised the issue.

Q With Colonel North?

A I don't recall with whom I raised it.

Q But that line drawn through that entry does not mean that you received such a list?

A Right.

Q All it means is that you raised the issue of such a list with someone; is that correct?

A Yes.

Q Now, on the next page, which is dated February 6, 1986, and has the control number 27672; that, again, is your handwriting, is that correct?

A Yes.

Q And those are your notes made on or about February 6th?

A Yes.

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Q There is an entry there which reads "Human Rights Report: Call Elliott Abrams ASAP." What does that refer to?

A I don't recall.

Q Is this a note that somebody told you to call Abrams about a Human Rights Report?

A Yes.

Q But you don't recall who told you that?

A I don't recall.

Q All right. Turning to the next page, which is dated February 20, 1986; are those notes in your handwriting, made on or about that date?

A Yes.

Q The first item reads "$1 million from bank, get president of the bank." What does that refer to?

A We wanted to meet the president of the bank where we banked, which is Palmer Bank. I don't remember whether the $1 million is a loan or a contribution. I think it was a loan.

Q You think it might have been a $1 million contribution from the Palmer Bank?

A I think it is a loan.

Q What was the purpose of the loan?

A I don't recall.

Q There is another entry on that page that reads "Ross Perot, 3/10/86 meeting." What does that refer to?

A It is when we wanted to have a meeting with Ross Perot.

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Q Is this a note of a conversation with Mr. Channell?

A I don't recall.

Q Did you have such a meeting?

A No.

Q Did you have any contact with Mr. Perot?

A No.

Q Why not?

A Because he wasn't interested in the Central American Freedom Program.

Q How did you know that?

A Colonel North told me.

Q Did he tell you how he knew?

A He either spoke with him directly or Bud McFarlane spoke with him directly.

Q Do you know which?

A I don't recall.

Q But it was one of those two?

A Yes.

Q And Colonel North relayed to you that Mr. Perot was not interested in contributing with respect to Central America?

A Right.

Q And you dropped the subject at that point?

A Yes.

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Q Now, the last entry refers to "House and Senate targets for ACT contributions." "ACT," I take it, is American Conservative Trust?

A Yes.

Q Are the seven names specified there, are those the targets?

A Yes.

Q How were the targets selected?

MS. LUBIN: Does this have to do with Nicaragua?

THE WITNESS: No, it does not.

MS. LUBIN: I will make the same comment I did before.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q All right. Let me put the question then, was the issue of Nicaragua a criteria, in any way, in selection of these individuals as targets?

A No.

Q Turning to the notes dated March 4, 1986, which is Page 34964; are these your notes made on or about that date?

A Yes.

Q At the bottom, there is various entries. Do those refer to bank accounts, Mr. Conrad?

A Yes.

Q Would you explain what those are?

A Well, I would have to double check with our financial records. I can't recall where these accounts were,

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but they are bank accounts.

Q Well, NEPL Number 1 is indicated to be a general account; is that correct?

A Right.

Q NEPL Number 2 is called the "Sacher Account," and that has paren "(CAFP)" which I gather stands for the Central American Freedom Program; is that correct?

A Yes.

Q Why was that account called the Sacher Account?

A I think because he started it, he made the first contribution to it.

Q Now, over to the side, "CAFP" is indicated to be "Nicaragua II"?

A Right.

Q What is the reason for the characterization of that as "Nicaragua II"?

A Well, I don't know how to answer that question. Spitz' nomenclature.

Q Then continuing, Number 3 is indicated to be the George S. Patton Account, and that is indicated to be "Nicaragua I." Is that correct?

A Right.

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Q Why is that account called the Patton Account?

A Because Patton gave the first contribution to it.

Q To that account?

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A Yes.

Q Then there is also a note that "Nicaragua I = Green." Is that correct?

A Yes.

Q Does that indicate that that account is for the direct aid for Nicaragua?

A Yes.

Q The other account, Number II, or the Sacher Account, is for expenditures for Nicaragua II or the Central American Freedom Program or, as you have described it, "the Public Diplomacy Program"?

A Yes.

Q That is the distinction you are making here in these notes?

A Yes.

Q Now, is this information that was given to you by someone else?

A Yes.

Q Who was that person?

A Mr. Channell.

Q Mr. Channell.

A These distinctions existed in his brain.

Q Did they also exist in the day-to-day operations of NEPL?

A Only vaguely.

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Q Only vaguely. At the top, there are references to "Future of Freedom Sentinel and CAFP," and various numbers. What do those references mean?

A (Witness peruses document.)

I don't recall.

Q Turning to the notes dated March 17, 1986, which has your control number 26971; is this your handwriting made, on or about that date, Mr. Conrad?

A Yes.

Q Are these notes made by you from a conversation with someone else?

A Yes.

Q Who was that person?

A Mr. Channell.

Q Is this page, in effect, a sort of summary budget, or cash-flow analysis?

A Yes.

Q At the top you list various expenses, and does that indicate that an anticipated expense for David Fischer would be $50,000?

A Yes.

Q Was that for the Month of March?

A I don't know.

Q Was it for a month?

A I don't know.

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Q Then "Mr. Lichtenstein, $17,000," is that correct?

A Yes.

Q "Edie Frazer, $8,000"?

A Yes.

Q "Bruce Cameron, $10,000"?

A Yes.

Q And the "Edelman Organization, $15,000"?

A Yes.

Q But you don't know the period of time covered by those amounts?

A Right.

Q Under that, there are references to checking accounts and the Hutton account and shares of Gerber stock. Is that a summary of the cash and stock that was on hand at that point in time?

A Yes.

Q Then you have a "Due in, $100,000 from Sacher," and $237,500 from Bunker." Does that amount from Bunker relate to the repayment of the loan, and then a further contribution that we have referred to before?

A Yes.

Q Under that there is a reference to a "Green grant of $500,000." What is that?

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A Direct aid to the Freedom Fighters.

Q Do you know what it related to? Do you know what

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items?

A No.

Q Is that just Mr. Channell telling you that there would be a $500,000 withdrawal, going for direct aid?

A Yes.

Q Which you referred to here as a "Green grant."

A Right.

Q Was that going to Mr. Miller?

A Yes.

Q The next page of notes, dated March 25, 1986, are those handwritten notes made by you, Mr. Conrad, on or about that date?

A Yes.

Q In the middle of that page, there is a note, "Raise $339,000." I take it, it refers to raise -- "$339,000," and then an arrow, and then it says, "Give $239,000." What does that refer to?

A (Witness peruses document.)

Well, it is a summary of how much money we have raised and how much money we are supposed to -- give to direct aid to the Freedom Fighters.

Q Does that mean NEPL-retained the remaining $100,000, or the plan was to retain that amount?

A Yes.

Q For expenses and other operating costs?

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A Yes.

Q Then there is a note to "Give $225,000 to Green."

A Yes.

Q That relates to the specific items that are identified there that were raised from Barbara Newington, Ellen Garwood and Bill O'Neal; is that correct?

A Yes.

Q Do you know the types of equipment or supplies that were to be acquired with this grant of money to Green, or Colonel North?

A No.

Q There is a reference on the next line to "lunch with Lin~~u~~as Kojelis," K-O-J-E-L-I-S, "Mitch Daniels and Elliott Abrams." Did such a lunch occur?

A No.

Q Why not?

A I don't know.

Q There is also a reference under that to "Ollie to Dallas on Thursday." Does that refer to Colonel North?

A Yes.

Q Did he make such a trip?

A No.

Q Why not?

A I don't know.

Q To the right of that entry are the names Bill

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Carls, Bunker and Mrs. King. Was Colonel North supposed to meet with those individuals in Dallas?

A Yes.

Q But he did not meet with them, to your knowledge?

A Right.

Q Above that, there is a reference to calling David Fischer regarding Wesley Smith. What does that relate to?

A I think about getting a letter of recommendation for Wesley Smith from the President.

Q Is this with regard to admission to law school?

A Yes.

Q Toward the bottom of the page, there is an entry, "Green, list of names and addresses of Saudi Arabian briefing," it appears to be "attendees, and background literature on the issue." Does that entry relate, in any way, to Nicaragua?

A No.

Q Turning to the next page, which is your control number page 37275; is that page your handwriting?

A Yes.

Q Is there a date at the top? Can you read the date?

A 3/31/86.

Q Did you put the date there also?

A Yes.

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Q Did you make the notes on or about that date?

A Yes.

Q Now, does the first line read, "Planes," P-L-A-N-E-S, "dollars"?

A Yes.

Q What does that refer to?

A Money for planes.

Q What types of planes?

A I have forgotten.

Q Is this planes for use in the military activity in Nicaragua?

A It is planes for use in Nicaragua.

Q What sort of use?

A My understanding was, they were for delivery of material.

Q To whom?

A The Freedom Fighters.

Q What type of material?

A Humanitarian aid.

Q And military aid?

A Wasn't discussed.

Q Humanitarian aid was specifically discussed?

A Yes.

Q Underneath that, there is a line "Revenue," and an entry, "Barbara Newington, $141,000 and Ellen Garwood, $131,000." Does that indicate they gave those amounts for

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the purpose of acquiring planes?

A Yes.

Q And that totaled $272,000?

A Right.

Q These planes were being purchased for that purpose; is that correct?

A I don't recall.

Q In some manner or other, planes were being acquired for use in Nicaragua?

A Yes.

Q And you are not sure of the method of acquiring them?

A Right.

Q And do the entries below that indicate that of the $272,000, $225,000 was being transferred to IBC?

A Yes.

Q And the balance was being retained in the NEPL account?

A Yes.

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Q Turning back to the preceding page, the notes dated March 25, 1986, on that page there is a reference to a contribution from Mrs. Newington of $142,000, and then a contribution from Mrs. Garwood of $132,000; and on the March 31 notes, it is $141,000 from Mrs. Newington and $131,000 from Mrs. Garwood.

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Do the references on those two pages refer to the same contributions, to your understanding, or are those different contributions?

A The same.

Q What is the reason for the difference in amount?

A Spitz Channell.

Q You mean one of them is just a mistake?

A Yes.

Q Turning to the notes dated April 7, 1986, there is a reference in the third line, "Bill Casey, 4:00 p.m. Thursday." Is that your handwriting?

A Yes.

Q Did you make those notes on or about that date?

A Yes.

Q What does that entry refer to?

A Spitz Channell was due to have a meeting with Bill Casey.

Q Who set that meeting up?

A I don't recall.

Q What was the purpose of the meeting?

A I don't recall.

Q How did you know about the meeting?

A Spitz told me.

Q Were you to attend?

A I can't recall.

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Q Anyone else, other than Channell?

A I don't know that.

Q Did the meeting occur?

A I believe so, yes.

Q Did you attend?

A No.

Q Do you know if anyone other than Channell attended?

A I am not sure.

Q Where did the meeting occur?

A I don't know.

Q How do you know it happened?

A Spitz said.

Q What did he tell you about it?

A He said that Mr. Casey was un-understandable.

Q Un-understandable?

A Yes.

Q About what?

A He wasn't specific as to the topic.

Q Was the topic Nicaragua?

A I don't know.

Q Did Mr. Fischer arrange this meeting?

A I don't recall.

Q Do you know if Mr. Artiano had anything to do with it?

A I don't know.

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Q Did Mr. Channell tell you anything about the meeting, other than Mr. Casey was un-understandable?

A I don't recall.

Q Was that Mr. Channell's phrase, "un-understandable"?

A No, it is mine.

Q What was Mr. Channell's phrase?

A I don't recall.

Q In substance, it was that Mr. Casey had been a difficult person to talk to?

A Yes.

Q Had the meeting with Mr. Casey concerned Bunker Hunt?

A I don't know.

Q Look at the entries under that, Mr. Conrad, with respect to "David," and then there are various names, "Abramson, Poindexter, Hunt, Casey, Laxalt and Wick lunch." What does that refer to?

A Appointments that we wanted him to make, David Fischer.

Q Was that an appointment of a group of those individuals or separate ones?

A Separate appointments.

Q Why did you need Mr. Fischer to make an appointment with Bunker Hunt?

A I don't know.

Q You and Mr. Channell had a prior relationship with Mr. Hunt, did you not?

A Yes.

Q So there was no reason to have Mr. Fischer set up a meeting with Mr. Hunt, was there?

A I don't know what this entry refers to.

Q Turning to your notes dated April 17, 1986, there is an entry at the top, "Union League Club, 12:30 p.m., Bill O'Boyle." Does that indicate that you have a meeting with Mr. O'Boyle set for April 17th?

A I don't know the date.

Q But that is a note about a meeting you have set with Mr. O'Boyle at the Union League Club?

A Yes.

Q Turning to the notes dated July 14, 1986; actually, it is the second page of notes with that date. The control number at the bottom is 29975. Do you see that?

A Yes.

Q There is a reference at the bottom to an "ATAC conference in September where Green will speak." What does that refer to?

A Well, we wanted to have a conference in September and we wanted to -- sponsored by the Anti-Terrorism American Committee, and we wanted Colonel North to speak. and we wanted

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him to identify people who we should invite.

Q What is the relation of that conference to Nicaragua?

A None.

Q It relates to another subject?

A Yes.

Q All right. Turning to the next page, July 22, 1986; are those notes in your handwriting, made on or about that date?

A Yes.

Q At the top, there is a reference, "Green, travel, $100,000; food, $600,000." What does that refer to?

A We wanted to allocate $100,000 for travel expenses and $600,000 for food. It is a projected budget.

Q Well, this is $100,000 for travel expenses for Colonel North?

A I don't recall.

Q What is the relationship between the identification "Green," which I gather refers to Colonel North --

A Yes.

Q -- and the entry of $100,000 for travel and $600,000 for food?

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A Well, it is just that topic. Nicaragua what -- Nicaragua Two, I think. I get the numbers confused.

Q I am confused what "travel" refers to in this

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context. Is this travel by Colonel North that you are budgeting $100,000 for?

A I am not positive.

Q Did NEPL pay funds for travel by Colonel North? I believe you identified two occasions where NEPL paid.

A Yes.

Q I believe the visit to Mrs. Newington and the trip to Dallas, I believe.

A Yes.

Q Were there other occasions that you are aware of where NEPL paid for Colonel North's travel?

A Not that I am aware of.

Q But you are not clear whether this entry refers to travel expenses for Colonel North or for something else?

A Right.

Q It could refer to travel for Colonel North?

A It could.

Q Now, what about "food"? Could that be a food expense for Colonel North.

A He would have to be a big eater.

Q So is the answer yes or no?

A No.

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Q What do you believe that refers to, then?

A I believe it has to do with the Freedom Fighters.

Q Supplies for the Freedom Fighters in Nicaragua?

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A Yes.

Q Now, turning to the notes dated October 3, 1986; are these notes in your handwriting, made on or about that date?

A Yes.

Q In the middle there, there is an entry, "List: Read and destroy, October 1, '85 through October 1, '86." Is that your handwriting?

A Yes.

Q Now, under that, there are five individuals' names and certain amounts. Is that, again, your handwriting?

A Yes.

Q Now, there is an entry, "Bunker," which I take it refers to Bunker Hunt --

A Yes.

Q -- and "$700,000."

A Yes.

Q Does that indicate that Mr. Hunt made contributions of $700,000 in that one-year period?

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A No.

Q It does not mean that. What does it indicate?

A Spitz told me to make up a list of contributions from contributors, but some of the amounts were to be not accurate, and he was giving me some of the numbers that he wanted me to put on the list.

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Q Why would you make up a list that included amounts that were not accurate?

A I had to send it to somebody, but I have forgotten who.

Q Why does it say, "Read and destroy"?

A I was supposed to put a cover letter on it that said that this was confidential and "we don't have everybody's permission to list all these things, so we want you to read the list and then tear it up."

Q Who was this letter to go to?

A That is what I don't recall.

Q And you were to include in there incorrect amounts from contributors?

A Yes.

Q Pursuant to direction from Mr. Channell?

A Yes.

Q But he didn't tell you why you were to do that?

A Well, maybe at the time he did, but I don't recall now.

Q Now, do you know if Mr. Hunt contributed more or less than $700,000?

A Less.

Q Do you know if Mrs. Newington contributed more or less than $3,400,000?

A Less.

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Q Do you know if Mr. Sacher contributed more or less than $500,000?

A I am not positive. Probably more.

Q Do you know if Mr. and Mrs. Warm contributed more or less than $400,000?

A I am not positive there either. I would have to look.

Q But as to Mrs. Newington and Mr. Hunt, you are positive?

A Yes.

Q Toward the bottom of the page, there is a reference to a "letter to Ellen's attorneys." Is that Mrs. Garwood's attorneys?

A Yes.

Q Then there are descriptions, there are "food, medical supplies, transportation, logistical support, ambulance service." What does that entry refer to?

A Spitz wanted me to draft a letter to Ellen's attorney saying what we would use the money for that she had given, and these were the items that were supposed to be listed.

Q And does that note over to the left also relate to that?

A Yes.

Q "Public diplomacy until end of March, humanitarian

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aid --"

A "After April, continuing," -- I guess "continuing."

Q Now, does this letter pertain to the tax deductibility of Mrs. Garwood's contributions?

A I don't recall.

Q Was this letter in response to a request from Mrs. Garwood's attorneys?

A I believe so.

Q Did you send such a letter?

A No.

Q Did you cause it to be sent?

A No.

Q Do you know if such a letter was sent?

A Maybe; I don't know.

Q Well, is this a note for you to arrange for such a letter to be sent?

A I was supposed to draft it.

Q Did you?

A No.

Q Why not?

A It was just one of the things I didn't get to.

Q Turning to the notes dated October 20, 1986; is that your handwriting, made on or about that date?

A Yes.

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Q What are those notes? How would you describe those?

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A (Witness peruses document.)

A planning document.

Q Is this based on a discussion with Mr. Channell?

A Yes.

Q Now, that planning document, you break it down into two major headings, "NEPL" and "Western Goals." What is the dividing line of activities between those two organizations?

A Well, I don't know how to answer that question.

Q Let me phrase it another way, and maybe I can get into this.

Under "Western Goals," you have "Item E. Three terrorism films." Is there some reason that is a project for Western Goals other than a project for NEPL?

A Because it had a terrorism film before.

Q Western Goals had?

A Yes.

Q Is there some reason that the Network America projects are projects for Western Goals, other than NEPL?

A It was conceived of as a project for Western Goals from its very beginning.

Q By Mr. Channell?

A Yes.

Q Did the Network America project relate in any way to Nicaragua?

A No.

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Q That was not to be a subject of the various radio and television spots?

A Not that I recall.

Q Or at least that wasn't a principal focus?

A Oh, certainly not.

Q Now, Item F under Western Goals says, "European Worldwide Fundraising." Why is that an entry with respect to Western Goals rather than NEPL?

A Because Western Goals already had an European branch. Two European branches, actually.

Q Was there to be worldwide fundraising with respect to NEPL, as well?

A Yes.

Q How was that to be handled?

A Well, for NEPL projects, and this would be for Western Goals projects.

Q Now the next page in this volume, Mr. Conrad, is dated -- or rather has the identification number at the bottom 33330. Whose handwriting is that?

A ~~C~~Khris Littledale.

Q Was that document prepared at your request?

A Yes.

Q Would you describe that document?

A I asked him to analyze his contributions, the source of -- let me see; this is complex. I told him to add

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up all the money he has received from all each of his contributors, individually, over like the last year, or since he had been there -- I have forgotten. Then he was to identify, for each of the contributors, which method was used to contact those contributors the first time, in order that we might determine how much money came from which first initial contact, eventually, as it rolled out, and there are five different categories, which are listed there, one through five.

Q Now, did you develop the five different categories?

A Yes.

Q These were questions that you put to Mr. Littledale?

A Yes.

Q Did you put these questions to all of the fundraisers?

A Yes.

Q Then he supplied the answers?

A Yes.

Q Now, are the questions in your handwriting?

A No.

Q Did you dictate these, in effect, to Mr. Littledale and he wrote them down?

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A Yes.

Q And then he filled in the answers?

A Yes.

Q Then that is his narrative conclusion under the questions?

A Yes.

Q His conclusion was that "the Green meeting is the single most effective way of obtaining contributors, and the Green meeting is the single most effecting fundraising tool." Is that correct?

A Yes.

Q And you reviewed that conclusion of his?

A Yes.

Q Did you agree with that conclusion?

A No.

Q In what way did you disagree?

A Well, I felt that, after reviewing all the data, not only his, that meetings in general were the -- I mean he was dealing with limited data, so my sense of the question was that you needed to have meetings.

The real thrust of this question is, "Should you have meetings or should you have cold-call telephoning?" and it is very clear that meetings are infinitely better, whether they involve Green or Ronald Reagan. And he just has the experience of meetings that involve Colonel North.

Q Turning to the next page in the book, which is 33331, is that your handwriting?

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A No

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Q Whose is that?

A ~~C~~Kris Littledale's.

Q Are these, again, questions you put to him that he developed the answers for?

A Yes.

Q This is a part of the same analysis that also appears on 33330; is that correct?

A Yes.

Q Turning to the notes headed "November 18, '86," at the top, "Cliff Smith," and it has control page 33332; is that a page of a similar analysis, with respect to Cliff Smith?

A Yes.

Q If you would look, Mr. Conrad, at the pages with the control numbers beginning 23009 through 23018, whose handwriting is on those pages?

A I haven't got the slightest idea.

Q Directing your attention to the page with the control number at the bottom 20567; do you see that?

A Yes.

Q Is that your handwriting?

A Yes.

Q The note at the top reads, "Ollie, how extensive is Singlaub's organization?" Is that a question you put to Colonel North?

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A Yes.

Q What was the reason for asking that question?

A Gaining competitor intelligence, I guess.

Q What answer did you get?

A That it wasn't a very extensive organization.

Q But he indicated that he was knowledgeable about it?

A I think he said he didn't know a lot about it, but what he did know wouldn't make it very extensive.

Q Turning to the next page, which has your control number 20591; that, again, is your handwriting, is it not?

A Yes.

Q There is an entry about a fourth of the way from the bottom that reads, "Draft a Casey letter for NEPL." What does that refer to?

A Nothing to do with Nicaragua. We were going to have a program to improve the image of the CIA.

Q What is the approximate time of this page of notes?

A This is out of sequence. It is on the back of a to-do list, and I can only date it if I knew the other documents.

Q But it is totally unrelated to Nicaragua?

A Right.

Q Did this program that you refer to develop with regard to the CIA?

A No.

Q Now, turning to the next page, which has control number 26894, which is on a note pad that has printed on it, "Grin and do it." Are these your handwritten notes?

A Yes.

Q Now, as I read this, Mr. Conrad, it states, "Larry, Executive Director for Western Goals," and then "Roy Godson" and two telephone numbers, and then "Terry Arnold, Neil Livingston," and then in parens, "(phone numbers from Fawn)." Is that correct?

A Yes.

Q What does that refer to?

A That I would get the phone numbers from Fawn, she had them, and they are there.

Q Well, now, who is to be the Executive Director for Western Goals? Is that Larry?

A No. I am supposed to ask -- this seems to indicate to me that I would be asking Roy Godson for a recommendation for who should be the Executive Director for Western Goals.

Q Who is Larry?

A I don't recall. I think that is somewhere else in my notes, too, typed up. It might indicate more who Larry is. I think you asked me about that once before. But I just don't remember at this time.

Q Let's focus on this at the moment. Does this indicate to you that you are to ask Godson about the Executive

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Director for Western Goals?

A Yes.

Q Are you also to ask Terry Arnold and Neil Livingston?

A No.

Q That relates to something else?

A Yes.

T2S2

Q Did Godson make a recommendation about an Executive Director for Western Goals?

A I never spoke with him.

Q Why not?

A Because Rich Miller was getting in touch with him for me.

Q Do you know if Miller spoke to him?

A He said he did.

Q What did he tell you about his conversation?

A He said he didn't want to meet with us.

Q Now, there is also an entry, "Ollie: and Bill Greaves." What does that refer to?

A Bill Greaves is a friend, and I wanted to have Ollie write a letter of recommendation for getting him an interview for a job opening in the science -- what is it called? Office of -- nothing to do with Nicaragua.

Q Has nothing to do with Nicaragua. Okay.

How did Terry Arnold and Neil Livingston fit into

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these notes?

A Well, Ollie referred us to them.

Q For what purpose?

A Because we were interested in terrorism and so were they. They wanted to apply for a grant from us.

Q So their names there are unrelated to Godson?

A Yes.

Q And are unrelated to Bill Greaves?

A Yes.

Q Now, there is also an entry, "Top 10 targets from Will Ball or Mitch Daniels." What does that refer to?

A It is congressional targets, but on what issue I can't tell you. I don't remember.

Q Is that related to Nicaragua?

A I don't remember.

Q For the record, who is Will Ball?

A I don't know.

Q Who is Mitch Daniels?

A Well, he works in the White House. I don't know what his official title is.

Q All right. Under that, there is a reference, "Referral for 501."

A No. "Referral for SDI."

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Q Oh, "Referral for SDI." Okay. Then, "Dick Stone, banker." What is the reference to "Dick Stone, banker"?

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A Ollie gave me Dick Stone as a referral for a possible contributor to us.

Q For what project?

A He didn't say.

Q Who was Dick Stone?

A A banker.

Q Where?

A In Washington.

Q All right. Did you contact him?

A No.

Q Why not?

A Because Ollie was going to call him first, and he never did it.

Q The phone number there, is that Dick Stone's phone number?

A Yes.

Q You believe?

A Yes. Fawn gave it to me.

Q Turning to Page 27406A, is that your handwriting?

A Yes.

Q What does the reference mean, "$60,000 to Ollie ASAP"?

A It means give a $60,000 check to IBC.

Q Who told you to do this?

A Spitz.

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Q Do you know the reason for the urgency?

A No.

Q Do you remember this specific occasion?

A No.

Q Then there is a reference to "Bas~~k~~s brothers and Green," what does that refer to?

A That means I was supposed to ask Colonel North whether he knows the Bas~~k~~s brothers?

Q Did you?

A I can't recall whether I did.

Q Did you ever succeed in making contact with the Bas~~k~~s brothers?

A No. Well, I'm sorry -- I believe Jane McLaughlin talked with one of them.

Q Did they ever contribute any money?

A I don't recall. I would have to look at the records.

Q Do you recall that they made any significant contributions?

A No.

Q "No," they did not?

A No, they did not.

Q Okay. There is also a reference here to "Shopping list on Monday night." What does that mean?

A One of our perpetual requests for a new shopping

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lists, which never arrived.

Q Then under that, there is a reference, "Elliott: Monday: call Harper." What does that mean?

A I don't recall.

Q Does "Elliott" refer to Elliott Abrams?

A Yes.

Q And is "Harper" the contributor that is referred to earlier, that was identified by Secretary Shultz?

A Perhaps.

Q Well, to refresh your recollection, look back at the notes dated January 27, 1986.

A (Witness peruses documents.)

Q Those notes say, "Harper referred by Secretary Shultz," do they not?

A Yes.

Q Now, does that refresh your recollection that the note on Control Page 27406A about, "Monday: call Harper," is that same contributor?

A I don't know.

Q That name there is "Harper," is it not

A Yes.

Q So you don't know whether that is the same Harper that is referred to on your notes dated January 27, 1986; is that what you are saying?

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A Yes. I have no recollection.

Q But you believe "Elliott" is Elliott Abrams?

A Yes.

Q Does that note indicate that you talked to Elliott ABrams about the Mr. Harper who is referred to in that same line?

A It is a note prompting me to do that; yes.

Q To call Elliott?

A Yes.

Q Did you do so?

A No.

Q Why not?

A I don't know.

Q How do you know you did not?

A I don't recall it.

MR. FRYMAN: Is this a good time to break for lunch? Off the record.

[Whereupon, a luncheon recess was taken.]

AFTERNOON SESSION

MR. FRYMAN: Back on the record.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Mr. Conrad, I direct your attention to a page in the notes that does not have a date on it. The control number at the bottom is 30117.

A I have it.

Q Are those notes in your handwriting?

A yes.

Q Do you know the date of those notes?

A I am looking.

(Witness peruses document.)

August 6th, 1985, Control Number 30117 -- is here twice. I refuse to submit to being asked the same questions over again on the same documents.

This was our Venice rewrite, you may recall.

Q Yes. All right.

Now turning to the next page, which I believe is 31642; in any case, it is headed at the top "ATAC-Maryland." Do you see that page?

A Yes.

Q Whose handwriting is that page?

A Spitz Channell.

Q Did he give this sheet to you?

A No.

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Q Have you seen this sheet before?

A No.

Q You have never seen it until today?

A That is correct.

Q Were you aware that this sheet existed?

A No.

Q The bottom portion of the page is headed "Green dollars," and there is a list of various names and amounts. Do you know what those names and amounts represent?

A (Witness peruses document.)

No.

Q Turning to the next page, which has your control number 32666, is that page in your handwriting?

A No.

Q Do you know whose handwriting that is?

A Yes.

Q Whose is that?

A Cliff Smith's.

Q Have you seen this page before today?

A No.

Q Do you know James Robert Dougherty, Jr., is?

A I believe he is the son of May Dougherty King.

Q Is he deceased?

A I am not positive. I may be confusing -- since you raise that issue, this may be her brother. I am not positive.

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I don't know.

Q What is the entry to the left, under the name --

A Hugh Grove.

Q Is that "Foundation"?

A And Foundation.

Q Do you know what that refers to?

A I haven't any idea.

Q Do you know what the entries, "Colonel North, RR, Director Casey," and then an arrow toward "Foundation" further down on the page refer to?

A I have no idea.

Q Do you recall any discussion with Mr. Channell or Mr. Smith, or anyone else within NEPL, concerning a foundation and the brother of May Dougherty King?

A I don't recall.

Q Turning to the next page, which has control number 33141, is that your handwriting?

A No.

Q Whose is that?

A I don't know.

Q Is that Mr. Smith's handwriting?

A I don't think so. I don't know.

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Q The first entry appears to state, "Reclassify P. Beck against contributors," is the way I interpret it. Do you know what that refers to?

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A No.

Q The second item is "0-S Consultants." Do you know what that refers tc?

A No.

Q The seventh item reads, "Calero change Xmas," which is spelled X-M-A-S, "to foundation," or "FDN," appears to be "foundation name," "Look at check." Do you know what that refers to?

A No.

Q Do you recall any discussion of changing "Christmas" to FDN name on any checks?

A I don't know what this refers to at all.

Q And you don't know whose writing this is?

A No.

Q Turning to the next pages, which are 33326 through 29, is this the contribution analysis of Jane McLaughlin, which is similar to the analysis of Mr. Littledale that we looked at earlier?

A Yes. And Mr. Smith.

Q And Mr. Smith.

Turning to Page 33333, is that your handwriting?

A No.

Q Whose is that?

A Cliff Smith's.

Q Have you seen that page before today?

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A Probably.

Q What is that page?

A It is part of the analysis.

Q That we have been discussing?

A Yes.

Q Ms. McLaughlin and Mr. Littledale and Mr. Smith?

A Yes. It is the raw data from which the report is put together.

Q Now, if you will look at the next page, which is numbered 34522, is that page in your handwriting?

A Yes.

Q Do you recall the approximate date these notes were prepared?

A No.

Q Toward the bottom of the page, there is an entry or entries which state, "1.5 year multi-fasted program at local level. Ads to support the President. Working with different constituent groups to educate them to support the President. Reached out to grass roots organizations." Then "ACT, NEPL, Sentinel," then an arrow, "All three groups." Then another entry, "Only national security group with even lobbyist on retainer."

A "One lobbyist."

Q "With even one lobbyist on retainer." What do those notes refer to?

A It is our history, and I don't know why I'm writing it there.

Q Are these notes for some sort of summary report?

A I guess.

Q Are these notes of a conversation with Mr. Channell?

A Yes.

Q Turning to Page 35090, is that in your handwriting?

A No.

Q Do you know whose handwriting that is?

A Not for certain.

Q Have you seen this page before?

A Yes.

Q When?

A I don't know.

Q Was this sheet prepared for you?

A Yes.

Q By the Accounting Department?

A I can't recall.

Q What was the reason you asked that this sheet be prepared?

A Well, I believe this comes from Rich Miller, and this was an accounting as to how they spent the money that we gave them.

Q This is an accounting -- it is headed "IBC - Fees received from ACT and NEPL."

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A Right.

Q And you believe this was prepared by someone at IBC?

A Yes.

Q At your request?

A Yes.

Q What was the reason for the request?

A Well, we requested, from time to time, listings, periodic listings of how they spent the money.

Q Now, the column at the left has, apparently, a month and a date indication. Is that the way you interpret that?

A Yes.

Q What year do those months and dates refer to? Would that be 1985 or 1986?

A I think 1985.

Q Now, there is an entry, "July 19, contribution to cause, $80,000." What do you interpret that to be?

A That we gave a check to IBC for direct aid to the Freedom Fighters.

Q Were checks for direct aid in that amount being transferred in July of 1985?

A I don't know.

Q So you are not certain if these entries relate to 1985 or 1986; is that correct?

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A Well, I am as certain as I can be without looking

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at the financial record.

Q Your belief is that it is 1985?

A That is correct.

Q There is an entry on July 17 for "the Sacher project." Was that in 1985 or 1986?

A It was in both years.

Q Both years.

A But I mean it started in 1985. Also, the fact that there are three payments in May, each of $5,000, would indicate that it is 1985 because we paid them in dribbles and drabs rather than all at one fell swoop.

Q There is also an entry, June 19, "Palmer wire contribution, $130,000."

A Yes.

Q Would there have been a contribution of that amount to IBC in 1985, in June of that year?

A I believe so.

Q It is possible?

A Sure.

Q Turning to 36003, which is the following page, are these notes in your handwriting?

A No.

Q Do you know whose handwriting this is?

A Cliff Smith.

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Q Have you seen this page before today?

A (Witness peruses document.)

No.

Q You don't recall seeing that page previously?

A No.

Q Turning to Page 37235, is that your handwriting?

A Yes.

Q About a third of the way down, there is the entry "Ellen Garwood, David Warm," and then what appears to be, "FRS." What does that refer to?

A It mean hold fundraisers. We were going to ask them to hold a fundraising event in their area.

Q Did that occur?

A No.

Q Why not?

A One of the eight million things we didn't get done.

Q Above that, there is a note, "Call Terry Dolan re Dolan," and then there is a note I can't read. Can you read it?

A "Report."

Q What is that?

A Nothing to do with Nicaragua. I mean the Dolan Report is a publication that Terry Dolan wanted -- or did, in fact, put out for a while. It was a conservative polling document.

Q On down, there are references to other names, "Joe

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Wallace, Craig Bills, Samuel Frota, (?) pid Aunt Eleanor." Do those relate to Nicaragua?

A Not at all.

Q Are those personal?

A Spitz' personal.

Q And on below that, there are other names, "Scarpia and Stefano."

A Right.

Q Do they relate to the operations of NEPL?

A No. Personal.

Q Below that, "Smith Farraby letter." What does that refer to?

A Also not to do with Nicaragua. He was the financial campaign manager, I guess, -- the campaign finance manager for Wyatt Durrette who was running for Governor of Virginia in 1985.

Q Turning to Page 37254, is that your handwriting on that page?

A Yes.

Q There is an entry in the middle column, "Grenada Papers." What does that refer to?

A A publication of the United States Government.

Q What is the reason for that not[illegible]

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A The Grenada Papers were published by the -- a synopsis, a selection of the documents were published by the

U.S. Government Printing Office in a book. We got a copy of the book, and then we ordered several other copies, and that is who we were supposed to send them to. For information.

Q That is the individuals listed under there?

A Right.

Q "Mr. Ramsey, Bunker Hunt, the Pentecosts and Newington"?

A Right.

Q What is the phrase under "Newington"?

A "Us."

Q What does that mean?

A We needed to keep a copy.

Q I see. And did you send copies of those papers to those individuals?

A Yes.

Q What was the reason for doing that?

A Just to keep them up to date on what was happening. It showed Communist infiltration in Grenada and what their plans were to take over other countries in the Caribbean and so on.

Q Now, under that, there is a reference to "Room 450, Green presentation." What does that refer to?

A It means we wanted to have a Green presentation, a briefing by Colonel North in Room 450 at the OEOB.

Q Do you recall which particular briefing this refers to?

A (Witness peruses document.)

October -- it is October or November 1985.

Q Turning to page 37273, is that your handwriting?

A Yes.

Q What is the date of that page, or approximate date?

A Wait a minute. Excuse me.

(Witness peruses documents.)

Probably 3/19/85.

Q How do you come up with that date?

A By looking at the Americans for Freedom and Fairness notes on -- what is it -- I guess 27071. Wait a minute, I might be wrong.

No. I think I am wrong. I am sorry. I don't know the date. I cannot tell. It is not what I said before, though.

Q Are these notes of a meeting you had with Mr. Calero?

A No.

Q With Mr. Channell?

A Yes.

Q Why is this headed "Calero Plan"?

A Just how we were going to raise money for direct aid.

Q Did you understand from Mr. Channell that this was a

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proposal by Mr. Calero?

A No, no. For him.

Q This was a proposal by Mr. Channell for Mr. Calero?

A Well, not to be given to him directly.

Q But to raise money for this?

A Yes.

Q Now, did this occur in 1985?

A I am not positive.

Q Was this plan developed or were these notes made before you began making the transfers for direct aid to Mr. Miller's organization?

A I cannot possibly tell you.

Actually, this might be back when I said it was, about the Americans for Freedom and Fairness. In other words, it could be very early in 1985.

Q And this was a plan of Mr. Channell to raise $13 million, basically, for Mr. Calero?

A Yes.

Q Was this plan implemented?

A No.

Q Why not?

A I don't know.

S1 Q Turning to Page 37775, do you see that page?

A Yes.

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Q Whose handwriting is that?

A Spitz Channell.

Q Now, on the third line, there is the phrase, "New list of toys." Do you see that?

A Yes.

Q What does that refer to?

A I don't know.

Q Have you seen this sheet before today?

A Yes.

Q When did you see it?

A A few months ago.

Q Did you see it at or about the time Mr. Channell wrote it?

A I don't believe so.

Q You don't recall if he gave you this note at or about the time that he wrote it?

A No, I don't recall.

Q Now, you don't know what the phrase "New list of toys" refers to?

A No.

Q Was "toys" a phrase that was used in the NEPL offices to represent anything?

A Sometimes.

Q What was it used for?

A Well, I never used it.

Q Were you aware that others were using it?

A Only vaguely. I mean it was no big thing, by any means.

Q You never used it yourself.

A No.

Q Were you aware that there were accounts designated, or there was an account designated the "Toys Account" in the financial records of NEPL?

A Yes.

Q What did you understand that account represented?

A I didn't know.

Q Did you discuss it with anyone?

A Maybe Steve McMahon.

Q You did discuss it with Mr. McMahon.

A The fact that it existed, I discussed with Steve McMahon.

Q Did you ask him what it represented?

A No. Spitz said, "Set it up," so we set it up.

Q That was the extent of the discussion?

A Yes.

Q Did it seem strange to you to have an account designated the "Toys Account"?

A Most of the accounts were strange to me. Spitz had a very peculiar way of handling his accounting system, putting together his accounting system. It should never have been handled this way. This is just another in a long series

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of arbitrary and capricious titles being put on things.

Q Now, you considered yourself the Number Two person in the organization; is that correct?

A That is right.

Q Did you consider that your responsibilities extended to the financial area of the organization?

A Well, within certain limits, yes.

Q Well, did those limits include bank accounts?

A Yes.

Q And designation of bank accounts for certain purposes?

A No.

Q Were you aware that in late 1986 the Accounting personnel were directed to change entries in the NEPL financial records and substitute other entries for the phrase "Toys"?

A Yes. I directed them to do that.

Q Why did you do that?

A Because I said it was ridiculous to call the account "Toys."

Q Why?

A Because we were getting press on it.

Q Press about what?

A Well, people were alleging that we were using the Toys Account as a euphemism for buying weapons, and I said we

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shouldn't have that, so we should change the account name on our computer records.

Q How did you know that was incorrect?

A What.

Q That that account was being used as an account for funds to purchase weapons.

A Because the account contained all kinds of expenditures, I mean just a huge variety of expenditures, and it was a total misnomer. It is one of those accounting situations that Spitz would often get himself to, which is just -- it ended up being mish-mash. Maybe he had an original thought when he constructed it, but it certainly got lost in the shuffle.

Q Did you discuss with Mr. Channell that you were going to direct the Accounting personnel to make these changes in the records?

A Well, it was only one change. It was changed on the computer system from the word "Toys" to another term, which I have forgotten -- Central American Freedom -- CAFP, something; I have forgotten.

Q Or "TV ads."

A Yes. Whatever. I would have to look.

Q But there were several entries that were changed, were there not?

A I think there was only one.

Q You mean just one particular --

A I think there is only one document, one file, one computer file on which this occurs.

Q But there were a number of contributions where the particular identification was changed, from "Toys" to something else.

A I don't know about that.

MS. LUBIN: May we go off the record for a minute.

MR. FRYMAN: Off the record.

[Brief discussion off the record.]

MR. FRYMAN: Back on the record.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Mr. Conrad is it your understanding that the Accounting personnel could make one entry in the computer records, changing the phrase "Toys" to "CAFP" or "TV ads," or whatever the revised phrase was, and that would have the effect of changing that identification for each contribution that had been included in that account?

A Yes.

Q Now, returning to this note, which is 37775; at the top, what does the first line state?

A "New list, dollars." I don't know.

Q What does that refer to?

A I haven't any idea.

Q What does the next line state?

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A Worldwide -- I am not sure what the next word is, "foundation," maybe, and then "dollars."

Q What does that refer to?

A Well, I think it refers to our worldwide fundraising efforts that we wanted to get started.

Q Is that with respect to NEPL or Western Goals, or both?

A I don't know.

Q Now, we have talked about the next line which says, "New list of toys." What is the line under that? What does that say?

A I can't read the writing. Something "for dollars."

Q And the line under that, does that state, "Letter from Ollie to people"?

A Yes.

Q What does that refer to?

A I am not sure.

Q What is the word above "people"?

A "Doable."

Q Is that Channell's handwriting?

A Yes.

Q Do you know what that refers to?

A No.

Q Now, the line under that, does that read, "How much does Elliott," and then there is a word after that -- does the first part read, "How much does Elliott"?

A Well, I guess. I don't know. I can't be sure.

Q What is the last word in that sentence, or that line?

A Good question. If I saw the original, I might be able to tell you, but I would have to decipher it.

Q Turning to Page 37842; do you see that?

A Yes.

Q Is that your handwriting?

A No.

Q Whose handwriting is that?

A I think it is K Chris Littledale.

Q Have you seen that page before today?

A No.

Q Turning to Page 37845, whose handwriting is that?

A I think it is -- well, I am not sure. I think it is K Chris Littledale. I don't know. It might be Cliff Smith.

Q You are not sure?

A I am not sure.

Q At the top, there is a reference to a "secret conference." Do you know what that refers to?

A A conference on counterterrorism, which had nothing to do with Nicaragua, which we wanted Ed Ludvek Hw Luttwak to manage for us, to put together for us.

Q Did that conference occur?

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A No.

Q Why not?

A We got swept up in other matters. I don't know the answer.

Q In the middle of the page, there is a note "95 by Thursday." Do you know what that is, or what that refers to?

A No.

Q Under that, there is a phrase "Hire Fischer to bring us all over to White House to meet with Ronald Reagan." Do you know what that refers to?

A No.

Q Beneath that it says, "Re ACF/," and it looks like it is "IARM - Ollie said this was good idea." Do you know what that refers to?

A Yes.

Q What?

A IARM is a project of the American Conservative Foundation. It stands for the Institute for the Analysis of Revolutionary Movements. And prior to our establishing it, I believe ~~Ch~~K ris talked with him about it and, apparently, this is his note that it was a good idea.

Q What steps were taken to implement this idea?

MS. LUBIN: Does this have anything to do with Nicaragua?

THE WITNESS: No.

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Just some planning things. It was never implemented, but it has nothing to do with Nicaragua.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q At the bottom of the page, do you see the section beginning "Green"?

A Yes.

Q Would you read that, please?

A It says, "Set up before he disappeared -- Green will show up -- we will get--" something -- "for grant for him -- we need -- we need" something. "Give $30K, make possible." I cannot read all the handwriting.

Q Then in solid caps, it says, "PRIVATE."

A Yes. I am sorry. It says "PRIVATE" in capital letters.

Q Now, you believe this is Mr. Littledale's writing or Mr. Smith's writing?

A Yes, one of the two.

Q What does that last paragraph refer to?

A I don't know. I think it is ~~Ch~~Kris Littledale's writing.

Q Are you aware of any payment to Colonel North in the amount of $30,000?

A No.

Q More generally, Mr. Conrad, are you aware of any payments by NEPL, or any of the Channell organizations, for the benefit of Colonel North individually or his family, other than the two trips that you referred to, where his transportation was paid?

A And the briefcase that we bought for him. That is all.

Q That is the only thing?

A Right.

Q Turning to the next page, 37846, does that, again, appear to be the writing of either Mr. Smith or Mr. Littledale?

A Yes.

Q The section in the middle of the page, beginning "If complains," do you see that?

A Yes.

Q Would you read that section into the record.

A "If complains -- this was Green's big deal -- he's getting part of this. He wants to go out to dinner with you -- go to White House with product --" I don't know what that says -- "products," the word is undecipherable -- "so important future of country -- Green suggested we start this -- can you use this --"

Q "Foundation," is that the word?

A I don't know. Maybe. -- "use this foundation in future to help Green in variety of ways."

Q Now, do you know what that refers to?

A No.

Q Do you recall any discussion of establishing a foundation to help Green in a variety of ways?

A Not that I recall. There was a discussion about setting up a foundation for other purposes but to, coincidentally, being receptive to giving his daughter a scholarship. But that never happened.

Q When was that discussion?

A I could not tell you.

Q Who was that discussion with?

A Colonel North, myself.

Q Was that in his office?

A Yes.

Q What sort of foundation was this to be?

A We have discussed this before. We were going set up a foundation in England -- we had discussed different places, and so on, -- for the purpose of worldwide fundraising, and I talked with Colonel North about that on several occasions.

On one of the occasions, I said to him, "I think if your daughter would like a scholarship to Harvard University," which is where she was planning to go, "that when we get our foundation set up, that if she made an application to it, I feel sure it would receive favorable treatment." He said, That would be very nice. She is a very deserving young woman. That was the end of the conversation.

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Q This was just you and Colonel North?

A Yes.

Q In his office.

A Yes.

Q What was the approximate date of this conversation?

A I couldn't tell you.

Q Was it 1986?

A I couldn't tell you. I am not positive.

Q Was this discussed with anyone else?

A Spitz.

Q Was the discussion between you and Mr. Channell?

A Yes.

Q Did Colonel North also participate in that discussion?

A No. No.

Q What did you and Mr. Channell say with regard to this matter?

A Well, we were trying to put it in -- we wanted to hire Colonel North when he left the White House and when he left the military, and we were just trying to do things that would let him know that we were serious.

Q And indicating to him that his daughter could get a scholarship from this foundation was an indication to him that you were serious about hiring him?

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A Yes.

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Q What sort of discussions did you or Mr. Channell have with him about hiring him for your organization?

A Well, we indicated that we wanted to hire him, that's all, and he kept -- he didn't respond very positively to that, because he still had things to do on his own, you know, with the White House and with the military. Actually, the longest part of the conversation was about the fact that he couldn't leave until he reached retirement age, I gather, at the military.

Q When was that to occur?

A Very soon.

Q And at that point, he could join you after he reached retirement age?

A Yes. Well, so he said. I mean who knows if he was being straightforward.

Q On how many occasions did you discuss with Colonel North the possibility of his joining you?

A Not very many times.

Q More than five?

A I don't think so.

Q More than two?

A Probably.

Q Between two and five?

A Hopefully.

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Q Could it have been more than five?

A I am not positive. It wasn't a constant theme.

Q But it occurred on several occasions?

A It did.

Q Did these types of discussions also occur between Colonel North and Mr. Channell at times when you were present?

A Not at times I was present.

Q Do you know if they occurred when you were not present?

A I do not know.

Q Now, with respect to your discussions with Colonel North, was there any discussion of the amount of money that you would pay him when he came to work for you?

A I think only to the extent that I said, "You wouldn't have to worry about finances."

Q Six figure income?

A Oh, easily.

Q Seven?

A No. No.

Q But mid to high six figure income?

A Yes.

MS. LUBIN: Was it specified?

THE WITNESS: No, it wasn't specified. He never asked, and I never volunteered. But what I was thinking, -- well, I suppose you would say low six figures.

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BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q But you indicated to him that if he came to work for you, he wouldn't have to worry about finances?

A Right.

Q And his daughter could get a scholarship from the foundation to be established in England?

A Right.

Q Were there to be other financial rewards?

A That wasn't discussed. He didn't warm to the conversation.

Q Or the several conversations?

A Right. On any occasion, he didn't warm to it.

Q How do you know he didn't warm to it?

A Because he didn't say, "Wow, that's a neat idea. Let's discuss particulars."

Q But he didn't break off the discussion?

A Well, he kept putting roadblocks in the way. I mean maybe he was just being diplomatic.

Q What were the roadblocks?

A Well, you know, "I have to wait until I retire," and I mean he just wasn't encouraging.

Q But the retirement, you indicated, was to occur very soon?

A Like a couple of years.

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Q What became of the foundation that you were

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establishing in England?

A Nothing.

Q Was it established?

A No.

Q Are you aware of any funds being raised or used for a scholarship for Colonel North's daughter?

A No, I am not aware of any.

MR. McGOUGH: Let me just interject one question. Do you recall when the conversation about the scholarship took place?

THE WITNESS: No.

MR. McGOUGH: Can you put it in a year?

THE WITNESS: No.

MR. McGOUGH: 1985 or 1986?

THE WITNESS: One of the two.

MR. McGOUGH: One of the two. All right.

THE WITNESS: I can put it in a 12-month time frame for you.

MR. McGOUGH: All right. Why don't you?

THE WITNESS: It has got to be either July -- it is after July 1985, but before July 1986. It is in that 12-month time frame, but I cannot do better than that.

MR. McGOUGH: And as to the scholarship, it was just a single conversation?

THE WITNESS: Yes.

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BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q You have referred to a foundation being established in England; is there some particular reason that was to be established in England as opposed to another country?

A I think our attorney knew somebody who was English, an English attorney.

Q Who was the attorney?

A Curt Herge.

Q Curt Herge. And that is the only reason that it was to be an English foundation, so far as you know?

A So far as I know.

Q Returning to this page of notes, 37846; the last line appears to read, "O'Neal, $30,000. He is only person to get reporter there." Do you know what that refers to?

A No.

Q Turning to the next page, 37847, is that your handwriting?

A No.

Q None of the entries on that page are your handwriting?

A No.

Q Item 3 refers to "Green phone or Mel Williams and Sullivan," or at least it appears to state that. Do you know what that refers to?

A No.

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Q Have you seen this sheet before today?

A No.

Q Do you know whose handwriting is on this sheet?

A ~~Ch~~Kris Littledale.

Q The whole sheet appears to be his handwriting?

A Yes.

Q And is that also true of the next page, 37848?

A Yes.

Q Turning to Page 37851, whose handwriting is that?

A ~~Ch~~Kris Littledale's.

Q Have you seen that page before today, or do you recall seeing that page before today?

A No.

Q Turning to page 37854; is that Mr. Channell's handwriting?

A Yes.

Q Does that state at the top, "Green," underscored, and then there is an entry, "Bunker, 160 raised, 63 needed"? Is that your understanding of what that states?

A Yes.

Q What does that refer to?

A I haven't any idea.

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Q Would you read the last two lines of that note?

A I don't know what the first word is, "Lear," maybe. I don't know. "35," and then it says, "44 pt," and it says, "8:00 p.m." Then it says "892620, NEPL," and then it says, "M Green."

Q What does "44 pt" refer to?

A I haven't any idea.

Q And you cannot read the first word?

A No. It looks like "Lear," but I am not positive.

Q Do you know what those two lines refer to?

A I don't.

Q Have you seen this note before, to the best of your recollection?

A Not to the best of my recollection.

Q Turning to Page 78782, whose handwriting is on that page?

A Cliff Smith.

Q Now, at the top the notes appear to read, "For Calero, 530 -- midnight, cannot call White House." Do you know what that refers to?

A No.

Q Do you recall seeing this page of notes before today?

A No.

Q Turning to Page 81288, is that page in Mr. Channell's handwriting?

A Yes.

Q What does "White House Briefing II" refer to

A I don't know.

Q And there is an entry "EOB" which I take it means Executive Office Building.

A Yes.

Q Then it says, "20 individuals at $10,000 each." Did you discuss with Mr. Channell a proposed contribution of each person who attended such a briefing of $10,000?

A I don't recall.

Q What do you understand that refers to?

A Well, I don't know what he had in mind here. I never saw this before.

Q You don't recall seeing this before today?

A No.

Q Turning to Page 81301, whose handwriting is that?

A Cliff Smith's.

Q Do you recall seeing those notes before today?

A No.

Q In the middle, there appears to be a phrase, "President gone blind, apply to planes 65 -- one plane." Do you know what that refers to?

A I haven't any idea.

Q Then under that is the word "mall," do you see that?

A Yes.

Q Then under that, the phrase "computers directly to Pentagon." Do you know what the reference "computers directly to Pentagon" means?

A No.

Q Do you see, over to the side of that, the phrase "secret program, CIA report"?

A Yes.

Q Do you know what that refers to?

A No.

Q These are all Mr. Smith's notes?

A Yes.

Q There is also the phrase below that, "Darlington two security phones." Do you see that?

A Yes.

Q Do you know what that refers to?

A No.

Q At the top of that page, there is a heading that appears to read "Mary -- list." Do you see that?

A Yes.

Q Is that what you understand that to refer to?

A I guess.

Q Do you know who "Mary" is?

A I don't know for certain.

Q Are you aware of an individual named Mary that is associated with this operation in any way?

A Yes.

Q Who?

A Mary Adamkiewicz.

Q Anyone else?

A No.

MR. FRYMAN: Off the record.

[Briefly off the record.]

MR. FRYMAN: Back on the record.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Turning to Page 81782, whose handwriting is on that page?

A I think it is ~~C~~Khris Littledale.

Q Now, there is an entry that reads, "O'Neal $100-200,000 in January," and the words "TOP PRIORITY" in solid caps and underscored. Do you know what that refers to?

A No.

Q Can you tell, from the context of these notes if they were made in January of 1987?

A (Witness peruses document.)

Well, I think so. I could be off by some time.

Q Are you aware of any program where a contribution was being sought from Mr. O'Neal of $100,000 to $200,000 in January of 1987?

A Not that I recall.

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Q Turning to Page 81862, whose handwriting is on that page?

A ~~C~~Khris Littledale.

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Q Now Line 5 on that page reads "Garwood, $9,100, Sentinel," and then there is the word, solid caps, "ADD," and then similar entries. Number 6 is "Ramsey, $9,100, Sentinel, ADD," and then Line 7 is "Anderson, $7,100, Sentinel, ADD." Do you know what those entries refer to?

A No.

THE WITNESS: Could we take a break now?

MR. FRYMAN: Yes. Off the record.

[Whereupon, a brief recess was taken.]

MR. FRYMAN: Back on the record.

MR. FRYMAN: Mr. Conrad, I have had the Reporter mark as Exhibit 10 for identification a group of pages of memoranda, letters, invoices, transcripts or similar types of documents from the materials that have been produced by counsel for the Channel organizations. The control numbers of pages included in this exhibit are listed at the beginning of the exhibit, where they are identifiable. There is at least one instance where we could not identify the control number and there is a question mark indicated.

(The document referred to was marked for identification as Conrad Deposition Exhibit 10.)

BY MR. FRYMAN:

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Q I am now going to have a series of questions with respect to a number of the documents in Exhibit 10.

I first direct your attention to a letter dated July 19, 1985 from Joseph C. Luman, General Counsel of the Nicaraguan Refugee Fund, to J, Curtis Herge, which refers to the "forwarding of an additional contribution that constitutes a satisfactory resolution of the communication problems that apparently existed during the Month of May."

Do you know what that refers to?

A (Witness peruses document.)

Just generally.

Q What was it?

A I can't recall the specifics of it, but they thought that the National Endowment apparently owed them more money for -- I am forgetting the whole issue, I mean the specifics of the issue. I believe they alleged that the National Endowment for the Preservation of Liberty owed them more money.

Q The National Endowment raised money for the dinners; is that correct?

A Yes.

Q And they claimed that you retained too much of the money that had been raised?

A I don't know that I ever saw a list of particulars.

Q But there was some settlement of the dispute?

A Yes.

Q And this letter refers to that settlement?

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A Yes. But I have never seen this letter before.

Q Now, the next page is a letter from Colonel North to Mr. Channell dated August 15, 1985. There is a note at the top that reads "Do not circulate." Whose handwriting is that?

A I don't know.

Q Is that your handwriting?

A No.

Q Did you or Mr. Channell make any efforts to obtain this letter from Colonel North?

A Yes.

Q Did you draft it?

A I don't recall.

Q Was it drafted by someone in the NEPL or Miller organizations?

A I am not positive. Probably.

Q And a draft was then submitted to the White House?

A Yes.

Q What was the reason you wanted this letter?

A Credibility.

Q With whom?

A Contributors.

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Q Turning to the letter dated December 5, 1985, from Mr. Calero to Mr. Channell; have you seen that letter before?

A Yes.

Q Now, there is a reference to "raising $50,000 for the families in Nicaragua to sustain them through the holiday season." Do you see that?

A Yes.

Q Was that the origin of the Toys Account?

A I believe so.

Q Was that amount of money raised?

A I don't know how much was raised.

Q But an amount was raised, in response to this letter?

A Yes.

Q And that was transmitted to whom? If you know.

A I don't. It was transmitted, but I don't know to whom.

Q All right.

A I would have to look.

Q Turning to the next letter which is from Mr. Littledale to a James Landrum, dated January 15, 1986; there is a reference in that letter to "seeing Mr. Landrum in the next two weeks to go over our shopping list." Do you know what that refers to?

A No, I don't.

Q Did anyone in NEPL have a, quote, "shopping list," closed quote, in January 1986?

A Not that I knew of.

MR. FRYMAN: Off the record.

[Whereupon, a brief recess was taken.]

MR. FRYMAN: Back on the record.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Mr. Conrad, directing your attention to the letter dated January 16, 1986, from Mr. Channell to Mrs. Julius E. Pierce, and the enclosure, which are your control number pages 29521 through 29525. Who drafted the enclosure to that letter?

A (Witness peruses document.)

MS. LUBIN: Can I ask the basis for your thinking it is an enclosure?

MR. FRYMAN: Well, I thought, from the context of the letter, that it was, but let me ask the question, then, to Mr. Conrad.

MS. LUBIN: I am not sure that is the case at all.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Do you believe that Pages 29522 through 25 were included as an enclosure with the January 16 letter to Mrs. Pierce?

A I don't know. I have never seen either of these documents before.

Q You have never seen either of these documents before?

A No.

Q Were you aware that the document headed "Central America Freedom Fighter Emergency Program" had been drafted or existed?

A I don't recall.

Q All right. Turning to Page 81706, which is a Plan of Action prepared by Bruce P. Cameron on January 24, 1986; have you seen that document before?

A No.

Q Do you know Bruce Cameron?

A Yes.

Q Were you aware that he worked with NEPL in connection with the lobbying campaign in 1986?

A Yes.

Q What was his role?

A To lobby on the Hill.

Q Was he retained by NEPL? Did he perform services for NEPL?

MS. LUBIN: Can you, as we have been using NEPL --

MR. FRYMAN: Yes. I am using "NEPL" to refer -- unless I indicate otherwise, I am using "NEPL" to refer to the National Endowment for the Preservation of Liberty, as well as the other Channell organizations. When I intend to refer to a specific organization, I will indicate in my question.

THE WITNESS: So the question is what?

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MR. FRYMAN: Would the reporter read the question back?

[The pending question was read back by the Reporter.]

THE WITNESS: Yes.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q How was he introduced to the Channell organizations?

A Rich Miller.

Q What was the name of Mr. Cameron's organization?

A I think the Center for Democracy in the Americas.

Q Is that the only organization he was associated with, so far as you know?

A I don't know.

Q Well, to put the question another way: Do you know of any other organization that he was associated with?

A I was never clear on the point.

Q You knew that he was associated with the Center for Democracy in the Americas; is that correct?

A Yes.

Q Do you know of any other organizations that he was associated with, to your knowledge?

A Not to my knowledge.

Q That is my question.

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Now, if you would look at the memorandum dated March 19, 1986, to Dan Conrad from Eric Singer with regard to

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"projections on tomorrow's vote in the House," which is Pages 78810 through 78812.

A (Witness peruses document.)

Q Did you receive that memorandum on or around March 19, 1986?

A Yes.

Q Was this projection an example of the type of services that Mr. Cameron's organization performed for NEPL?

A Yes.

Q Who was Mr. Singer?

A He worked for him, a stat person.

Q Turning to the next item, which is a memorandum from Mr. Cameron to you, dated March 19, 1986, which has your numbers 76222 through 76223; did you receive that memorandum on or about March 19, 1986?

A Yes.

Q Was that a summary of the types of activities and meetings that Mr. Cameron's organization was performing for the Channell organizations?

A Yes.

Q Turning to the next item, which is a letter from Mr. Channell to Mr. Miller dated April 15, 1986, were you aware that Mr. Channell had sent this letter to Mr. Miller?

A (Witness peruses document.)

Yes.

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Q Did you draft the letter?

A No.

Q Who did?

A I don't know.

Q Now, there is a list of subcontractors on Page 2 of the letter, and then on the first page, it indicates that they should be notified that all Sentinel financial arrangements with them would be terminated on April 15.

A Yes.

Q What was Mr. Artiano's specific role as a subcontractor, in the context of the preceding page?

A I don't know that he had one.

Q Why was he included in this letter?

A Well, it was meant to be a catch-all letter to just tell everyone they weren't going to get any more money from us.

Q What services did Mr. Artiano perform with respect to the Central American Freedom Program?

A As I said, I am not sure that he did any.

Q What services did Steve Cook perform?

A Well, he is the manager of Edelman.

Q So just briefly, he performed public relation services?

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A PR services. Sure. Marty Artiano made arrangements for us to meet with people, the President, things like that.

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Q And David Fischer is listed after Mr. Cook; how would you describe his services in this program? Similar to the services of Mr. Artiano?

A Yes.

Q What services did Edie Frazer perform?

A Grass roots letter writing campaign.

Q And Bob and Adam Goodman?

A Advertising.

Q Dan ~~Kirchendahl~~ Ken? Kuykendall

A Lobbying.

Q How did his services differ from the services of Mr. Cameron?

A Well, they were very similar; he just knew different people.

Q Why is Mr. Cameron not listed in this letter, by the way?

A I couldn't tell you.

Q What services were performed by Jack Lichenstein?

A Grass roots letter writing.

Q His services were similar to the services of Ms. Frazer?

A Yes.

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Q What services were performed by Penn Kemble?

A I think lobbying, as well.

Q Well, if you would look back at the memorandum from

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Mr. Cameron, the March 19 memorandum, the letterhead indicates that Penn Kemble was the Chairman of the Center for Democracy in the Americas. Does that suggest to you that Penn Kemble was really used there as a name synonymous with Bruce Cameron?

A I don't know.

Q You don't know one way or the other?

A Well, I mean he had his own organization, as well.

Q What organization was that?

A PRODEMCA.

Q Was PRODEMCA involved in the Central American Freedom Program?

A I don't recall. I would have to go back and check.

Q Finally, what was the role of the UNO office in this program?

A I didn't think they were involved.

Q Do you see them listed on the second page?

A I see them listed. I didn't draft the letter.

Q All right. Turning, Mr. Conrad, to the mailgram dated April 17, 1986, from Cliff Smith to Jerry E. Finger; do you see that?

A Yes.

Q That mailgram refers to a briefing at the White House to be held on April 24, 1986, does it not?

A Yes.

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Q In the mailgram, it states that "during and after the dinner, a special project to specifically support the President's goals in regard to Nicaragua will be discussed and undertaken by the group." DO you know what that refers to?

A No.

Q Have you seen this before?

A No.

Q Did you review correspondence and mailgrams that were sent out by the fundraisers?

A In some cases.

Q Not as a matter of course?

A No.

Q You never saw a mailgram similar to this.

Q Would Mr. Smith have drafted this on his own?

A It is entirely possible.

Q You had not role in it?

A No.

Q Now, turning to the next item, it is a letter from Mr. ~~Kirkendahl~~ Kuykendall to you dated May 5, 1986, on the letterhead of the ~~Kirkendahl~~ Kuykendall Company --

THE WITNESS: Could we go off the record for a minute?

MR. FRYMAN: Off the record.

[Brief discussion off the record.]

MR. FRYMAN: Back on the record.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q The letter dated May 5, Mr. Conrad, refers to consulting research and resource information from the Gulf and Caribbean Foundation, and asks for a contribution of $5,000. Then the following page is a memorandum dated June 10, which appears to be an agreement with the ~~Kirchendahl~~ KUYKENDALL Company.

What is the difference in the services performed by the ~~Kirchendahl~~ Kuykendall Company and the Gulf and Caribbean Foundation?

A I could not tell you.

Q You considered them synonymous or the same?

A I don't know.

Q Was it the Gulf and Caribbean Foundation that was being compensated for the lobbying efforts of Mr. ~~Kirchendahl~~ Kuykendall in the Spring of 1986 that you have referred to, and that are referred to in the letter that we have just discussed, dated April 15, 1986?

A We would have to look at the accounting records. I don't know.

Q Returning to the memorandum dated June 10, 1986, which is a consulting arrangement, or a memorandum which confirms a consulting arrangement for a 12-month period for a fee of $3,500 a month.

A Yes.

Q What services was Mr. ~~Kirchendahl~~ Kuykendall to perform pursuant to that retainer agreement?

A To be available for consultations, discussions on political matters.

Q And the following page concerns a monthly budget for the Gulf and Caribbean Foundation, and that is headed "Your request concerning monthly costs of operating Gulf and Caribbean Foundation's presence in Washington." Is that an agreement, or an amount, or an understanding that is separate from the retainer agreement with Mr. ~~Kirchendall~~ Kuykendall?

A Yes.

Q What does that relate to?

A Spitz and Dan got into some conversations about us taking over the Gulf and Caribbean Foundation, and this was an estimate as to how much it would cost to do that.

Q What became of those discussions?

A They didn't go anywhere.

Q Did you or Mr. Channell ever discuss that prospect with Colonel North?

A I don't recall.

Q Turning the next item, which is a letter to Mr. Channell from Mr. Cameron dated June 12, 1986, forwarding two proposals; have you seen that letter before?

A (Witness peruses document.)

No.

Q Were you familiar with the content of that letter and, by that, I mean a proposed grant of $20,000 for the Center for Democracy in the Americas, and $80,000 for the Citizens for a Democratic Foreign Policy?

A No.

Q You had not been aware of any such proposed grants?

A No.

Q Turning to the next page, which is a memo to David Fisher dated August 25, 1986, which is headed "Draft memo for Don Regan from Spitz Channell," and it has your control pages 33006-07; do you know who drafted or who prepared this draft memo?

A (Witness peruses document.)

No.

Q Have you seen this memo before today?

A No.

Q You have never seen this?

A No.

Q Were you aware that it had been sent?

A No.

Q Now, in the memorandum, in the third paragraph, there is the statement that "Over $2,500,000 went to the television campaign alone." What did you understand was the amount spent on the television campaign? Is that amount approximately correct?

A I don't think so.

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Q How is it incorrect.

A Well, I think it was more like a million dollars, but I would have to check my financial records to be sure.

Q Do you know the source of this number of $2,500,000?

A I don't have any idea.

Q There is also a statement that "$750,000 was spent by Sentinel directly."

A Yes.

Q Do you know if that number is correct?

A No.

Q "No," you don't know, or "no," it is not correct?

A It is not correct.

Q How is it incorrect?

A It is inflated.

Q What is the correct amount that you understand?

A I don't know.

Q That is more than the amount expended?

A Yes.

Q Do you know the source of this number?

A No.

Q Turning to the September 5, 1986, memorandum from Mr. Miller to Mr. Channell concerning professional fees of David Fischer. There came a point, did there not, when NEPL paid the fees directly to Mr. Fischer rather than having them paid through Mr. Miller's organization?

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A I think that happened on two occasions.

Q Only two occasions?

A As I recall.

Q Do you know the reason why it happened on those two occasions?

A It was a mistake.

Q Is this memorandum one of those mistakes?

A No. It would be -- this isn't a mistake.

Q But do you understand this memorandum indicates that NEPL should pay Mr. Fischer directly on these two occasions?

A No.

Q This is just a billing from IBC for fees that they have paid to Mr. Fischer?

A Well, I don't know what their arrangement is, but it is a bill from IBC to us for his fees, so we were then to make out a check to IBC.

Q All right. Turning to 57156, which is headed "Olson Furniture" and has a list of items which totals $1,915; what does that refer to?

A (Witness peruses document.)

I don't know.

Q Did NEPL purchase any furniture from Mr. Olson or Eric Olson?

A It may have.

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Q You don't know one way or the other?

A I don't know.

Q You have no direct knowledge of that?

A Not that I recall.

Q Turning to the next page, which is a mailgram dated September 9, 1986, from Mr. Channell to Colonel North, concerning the defeat of Congressman Barnes. Had you been aware that such a mailgram had been sent?

A No.

Q Had you seen that mailgram before today?

A No.

Q Had you discussed the transmission of such a mailgram with anyone?

A No.

Q Turning to the handwritten invoice from Eric Olson dated October 8, 1986, for $10,000; what services are you aware of that Mr. Olson performed during October 1986?

A I don't recall.

Q Do you know of anything he did in that month?

A I don't recall.

Q Do you know of anything he ever did for NEPL?

A Yes.

Q What?

A Consulted about computer equipment, our computer system and our computer accounting, how we should organize

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for that and so on. That is his field.

Q Do you know how many hours he spent on those particular areas?

A No.

Q Do you know of anything else he did?

A Well, he was constantly giving us advice on the general -- what would I say -- political thrust -- comment, in general, on what was going on in our organization. We would often speak with him about what we were planning to do, or what had just happened, and he would make suggestions about how we might handle various items.

Q This was over what period of time that there would be this general consultation?

A Oh, a long period. Two years.

Q Over a two-year period?

A Two and a half years.

Q And during this two or two and a half year period, he was employed in another full time job, was he not?

A Yes.

Q That was as a management consultant?

A Yes.

Q With a major accounting firm?

A Yes.

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Q And the consulting with respect to the computer systems that you referred to, what time period did that consulting occur?

A Well, after we moved, so after August of 1986.

Q Until what point?

A Well, it continued up through -- it continued into 1987, I don't know how long in 1987.

Q And you have no idea how many hours he spent on that?

A No.

MS. LUBIN: Tom, do you want to explain to me what possible relevance this has to anything in the mandate?

MR. FRYMAN: Well, no, I don't particularly want to explain this.

MS. LUBIN: Well, then I think I will cut in; I don't see any.

MR. FRYMAN: Well, I will ask the questions and you can direct him not to answer if you want to.

MS. LUBIN: You can do that. You can save it to the end or you can drop it.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q During the months beginning in August of 1986, when you understand that Mr. Olson was performing some services with respect to consulting about computers; during this entire period, he was also employed in a full time job by another organization, was he not?

MS. LUBIN: We will save the question until the end, at best.

MR. FRYMAN: Are you directing him not to answer the question?

MS. LUBIN: Yes, I am.

I don't see the relevance. I don't see that it is within your scope -- any possible argument, but you have declined to make any such argument. I don't see it. We are not here to answer all your questions about the world at large. I will be glad to reconsider if you wish to make any points as to why I should.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Turning, Mr. Conrad, to the letter agreement dated October 15, 1986, between ~~Nofsinger~~ Nofziger and Bragg, and the Channell Corporation; do you see that document?

A Yes.

Q What services were to be performed by ~~Nofsinger~~ Nofziger and Bragg, or ~~Nofsinger~~ Nofziger Communications, Inc., I guess, pursuant to that agreement?

A To give us advice and counsel.

Q About what?

A About anything we cared to discuss with them.

Q How were they selected to perform such services?

A I don't know how to answer that.

Q Was their retention discussed with Colonel North, to your knowledge?

A No.

Q It was never discussed by you?

A Not that I recall.

Q Was it discussed with Mr. Miller?

A Yes.

Q Did he suggest that you hire them?

A I don't recall whether he did or not.

Q Was it discussed with Mr. Fischer?

A Possibly.

Q Was it discussed with Mr. Artiano?

A I don't think so.

Q You are not sure?

A No. I mean we knew who ~~Nofsinger~~ Nofziger was. There were many connections.

Q And you decided --

A We just decided to consult with him.

Q Decided to start paying him $20,000 a month?

A Well, that was his charge.

Q On what was that charge based?

A You will have to ask Mr. ~~Nofsinger~~ Nofziger.

Q But that is what he asked for, and you agreed to pay it?

A Yes.

Q Turning to the bank slip dated -- or that appears to have your number stamp 35276, what does that relate to?

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Does it relate to a loan that the Channell Corporation had with Suburban Bank, or what is that document?

A You have to ask the Accounting Department.

Q Do you know?

A No.

Q Have you seen this before?

A No. It looks to me like it is for a safety deposit box, but I couldn't possibly tell you.

Q That was going to be a question that I had. Did Channell Corporation have a safe deposit box at Suburban Bank?

A I have no idea. This is the first time I have ever seen this document.

Q Do you know what "Suburban Bank" refers to?

A No.

Q Directing your attention to the memo to Cliff/Spitz from Steve, dated December 2, 1986, with regard to the "Goodman/RAN films, balance due." Are you familiar with the subject matter of that memorandum?

A No.

Q Have you ever seen that memorandum before?

A No.

Q And you know nothing about the matters discussed in it?

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A No.

Q Turning to the invoice from Nofziger ~~Nofsinger~~ and Bragg

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dated December 16, 1986, directed to you, for consulting services for the period December 15, 1986, through January 15, 1987, in the amount of $20,000; what services to you recall that Nofziger ~~Nofeinger~~ Communications performed for that amount of money?

A I don't recall.

Q You don't recall anything that they did?

A Right.

Q Who was the Nofziger ~~Nofeinger~~ firm primarily working with within the NEPL organization? Were they working primarily with you or with Mr. Channel, or with someone else?

A At different times, different people.

Q At this point in time?

A I don't recall.

Q Directing your attention to the invoice from the Kuykendall ~~Kirchendahl~~ Company, dated December 22, 1986, for $12,000 for services rendered for December 1986. What services do you recall that that company rendered in that period?

A I don't know.

Q You can think of nothing.

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A No. I mean it was a contract for many months.

Q Turning to the letter, or draft letter, dated January 13, 1987, to Robert Goodman, on the stationery of ACT, concerning an audit regarding the account with the Robert Goodman AGency; were you aware that such an audit was

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being performed?

A Well, I knew it was a mess, but I didn't know what they were doing to correct it.

Q What do you mean, "it was a mess"?

A Well, they didn't know -- the Goodman Agency and our organizations had gotten all confused about billing and payment, and all of that, because it was supposed to be very strict and it wasn't. It was sloppy. This was an attempt to straighten it out.

Q How was it supposed to be very strict?

A Well, only some ads could be paid for by certain organizations, legally.

Q What do you mean by that?

A If it was for political purposes, for or against a candidate, or something, then we had to pay for the ads from our PAC; and if it was for, for example, the Central American Freedom Program, for public education, we could do it through NEPL. If it was for lobbying for a bill before Congress, we had to do it through Sentinel; and the American Conservative Trust State Election Fund could pay for production but not airing.

And it was very confused -- they were very confused, and as were we, about which ads could be paid for by which organization, and which costs could be paid for by which organizations. So they would bill us under one organization, and we would have to pay it under another one. It was just hopelessly confused because of the quantity of ads that we did.

Q Who determined which organization should pay for which ad?

A That depends on the instance involved, you know, the specific invoice involved.

Q I mean as a general matter, is that something that you consulted with counsel on, or is that a determination that you made or Mr. Channell made?

MS. LUBIN: Tom, I am going to ask that you put this off until I have had a chance to review your mandate again, and if we come back tomorrow, I will make sure to review it tonight.

MR. FRYMAN: Off the record.

[Brief discussion off the record.]

MR. FRYMAN: Back on the record.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Mr. Conrad, you indicated that this had been a continuing problem, that is having the Goodman Agency bill the correct Channell organization for a particular advertisement.

A Yes.

Q Now, this letter that we're looking at, dated January 13, 1987, concerns, in part, correction of invoices

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issued in 1985. Do you know why there was a delay until January 1987 concerning the correction of the 1985 invoices?

A (Witness peruses document.)

If I recall, it wasn't discovered until much later.

Q Do you recall how it was discovered?

A I am not sure.

Q Who discovered it? And by "it," I take it we are referring to the billing of the incorrect organization?

A Right. The bills had all been paid, but we didn't discover that they had been incorrectly billed to the wrong organization -- in other words, what we should have done was to send back the bill to them and say, "Please bill the correct organization." But instead of doing that, what we did was to pay the bill from the correct organization, in many instances. And when we wanted to get this all straight, then we had to go back and resurrect the whole thing.

Q Was there any event that prompted the discovery of the problem?

A Maybe. I don't remember. I don't remember why this happened.

Q Do you recall the approximate time of the discovery of the problem?

A Well, obviously before the 13th of January.

Q Was it in late 1986?

A Quite possibly. I don't recall.

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Q Now, the next documents, with your control numbers 60534 and 60694, are these examples of invoices issued by your organization, Public Management Institute?

A Yes.

Q And there were a number of others, were there not?

A Yes.

Q Directing your attention to the letter on International Business Communications stationery, to Dan from Steve, and it has your control number 27087, and there is another copy that is 27088; who is Steve?

A (Witness peruses document.)

I don't remember his last name at the minute.

Q Was he an IBC employee?

A Yes.

Q What was the approximate date of this letter or memorandum?

A I don't know. I don't even know what year it is.

Q Now, there is a reference in the second line to the "NRCC." What is that?

A National Republican Congressional Committee. I don't know.

MS. LUBIN: Does this have anything to do with Nicaragua?

MR. FRYMAN: Well, let me ask Mr. Conrad.

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BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Does this list have anything to do with Nicaragua?

A Not that I know of.

Q What does it relate to?

A Just open seats in the House of Representatives.

Q And these are unrelated to the Nicaragua vote.

A Right.

Q The priority targets?

A It is just targets for defeat and targets for election. It is not -- or my understanding was, when it was prepared, it was not a list of people having anything to do with Nicaragua.

Q Now, Mr. Conrad, turning to the memorandum headed "Central American Freedom Program," which begins on Page 33546, and appears to continue through 33559. You have seen this memorandum before, have you not?

A Yes.

Q Who prepared this memorandum?

A I believe Richard Miller, or someone in his shop.

Q Were you involved in the preparation of it?

A I made some suggestions for improving it, I think.

Q Was this developed in early 1985?

A 1985? No.

Q When was this developed?

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A I don't know.

Q What was the purpose of developing this?

A Oh, it is a proposal to show to different contributors.

Q To tell them what you are going to be doing?

A Sure.

Q Who was involved in developing this, to your knowledge, other than Mr. Miller and other employees of IBC?

A I think they did it.

Q Do you know if Colonel North was involved in preparing this?

A I don't think so.

Q Do you know if Elliott Abrams was?

A I don't think so.

Q Was Mr. Fischer?

A I don't think so.

Q Mr. Artiano?

A I don't think so.

Q Anyone in the White House, other than Colonel North?

A Not to my knowledge.

Q Is this memorandum, to your knowledge, an accurate description of how the Central American Freedom Program was expected to operate?

MS. LUBIN: Do you want to stop and read it?

MR. FRYMAN: I thought he said he was familiar with it.

MS. LUBIN: Well, it has been some time since he had read it, I think.

THE WITNESS: Basically, I believe so, yes.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Generally, did the program operate as described in this memorandum?

MS. LUBIN: If you are going to ask him to continue, he will have to read it.

MR. FRYMAN: Yes. Take your time and review this.

(Witness peruses document.)

THE WITNESS: Okay.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Generally, did the program function as described in this memorandum?

A Well, somewhat. I don't know "generally." We did as much as we could with what we had.

Q In what significant ways did it differ from the description in this memorandum?

A Well, the budget, of course, was quite a bit different, as it turned out. We invested far less of this in it and, as a result, several of the items that were projected to be done were not done. So I would need a more detailed time to review this before I could answer that with any specificity.

Q Were there any significant activities of the

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program that were undertaken that are not described in this memorandum?

A (Witness peruses document.)

None that I can recall. I think this covers everything.

Q It is your recollection that the principal author of this memorandum is Mr. Miller?

A Yes.

Q Now, turning to the pages in this exhibit headed "Nicaragua Effort, Targeted Congressional Representatives," which --

THE WITNESS: I am sorry. Could we go off the record a minute.

MR. FRYMAN: Off the record.

[Brief discussion off the record.]

MR. FRYMAN: Back on the record.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q What is the source of this document?

A I have no idea.

Q Have you seen this before?

A Never.

Q Were you aware that there were Nicaragua effort Targeted Congressional representatives?

A Well, we made eternal lists of possible targets, is probably a better way of putting it.

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Q Who prepared the lists, that you are aware of? When you say, "We made lists," is that you and Mr. Channell?

A We did sometimes. ~~Stan Kirchendahl~~ Dan Kuykendall did, Bruce Cameron did. Maybe Penn Kemble did, I can't recall. I think Rich Miller did.

Q Was Oliver North involved in that?

A Not that I recall.

Q What was a "targeted representative"? What did that mean?

A Someone who was a possible swing vote.

Q Then you would focus efforts on those individuals? I mean was that the objective of identifying the target?

A I think it is probably better to say we wanted to focus our efforts on their districts. I don't think we did very much of anything to influence them.

Q How would you focus efforts on their districts?

A Send our speakers there, run ads there.

Q Buy television ads in those districts?

A Yes.

Q Those media markets?

A Yes.

Q But this particular list, which is Pages 81637-38, as indicated by your control number, you do recall ever seeing this before?

A No.

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Q Okay. Mr. Conrad, I want to ask you to identify some names. Who is Warren Coates, C-O-A-T-E-S?

A I don't know what his position. I think he is a high-up person, high level executive, manager at the IMF, I believe.

Q That would be the International Monetary Fund?

A Yes.

Q What was the reason your or Mr. Channell met with him on several occasions in 1985?

A He is a friend.

Q Did these meetings have anything to do with the operations of NEPL?

A No.

Q They were personal or social?

A I believe so.

Q Who is Doug France, F-R-A-N-C-E?

A Computer consultant.

Q Is he employed by any firm?

A He has his own firm.

Q Did he perform services for NEPL?

A Yes.

Q What sort of services?

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A Oh, all kinds of services. He, I think, bought our initial equipment and all of our subsequent equipment, put in our network, and helped develop our data base, and just did a

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huge amount of work for us.

Q How was he compensated?

A On an hourly basis, also on a retainer basis.

Q Were these checks payable to Doug France individually?

A No.

Q How was he paid?

A Performance Consulting.

Q That is his company?

A I believe so, yes.

Q And he performed extensive services?

A Yes.

Q Do you recall how much he was paid, or approximately how much?

A I have no idea. I would have to add it up. A lot, but I don't know how much.

Q Who is Mike Luria, L-U-R-I-A?

A A graphic artist.

Q Is he a free lance artist?

A Yes. Well, I think he was with a firm.

Q Do you know his firm?

A Rainbow Graphics.

Q Did you meet with him in 1985 in connection with services he was to perform for NEPL?

A Yes.

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Q Was he compensated for such services?

A Yes.

Q Were those checks payable to Rainbow Graphics?

A I believe so.

Q Who is Scott Taylor?

A I don't recall.

Q I won't mark this as an exhibit, but I will just show you a copy of an appointment calendar, which has been produced by your counsel, with the identification number 1032, and ask you if that refreshes your recollection about who Scott Taylor is?

A (Witness peruses document.)

No.

Q Who is George Victorson?

A A graphic artist.

Q By whom is he employed?

A I don't know the name of the firm.

Q Did he perform services for NEPL?

A Yes.

Q Who is Grace Muchmore?

A A friend of mine.

Q Did Grace Muchmore perform any services for NEPL?

A No.

Q Were your meetings with Grace Muchmore purely of a social nature?

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A Well, not all the time. Some of the time I was trying to hire her, but she eventually decided not to.

Q To work for NEPL?

A Right.

Q But she never did perform any services for NEPL?

A No.

Q What is her field? What were you trying to hire her for?

A To do fundraising.

Q Fundraising. Who is Steve Kurtz, K-U-R-T-Z?

A I don't recall.

Q Who is John Lutz?

A An employee of NEPL.

Q What was his position?

A Fundraiser.

Q Who is John Cook?

A A friend of mine.

Q Did he perform any services for NEPL?

A No.

Q Was he involved in the Nicaragua activities in any way?

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A No.

Q Who is Marla Handy? M-A-R-L-A, H-A-N-D-Y.

A The name is familiar, but I can't place it.

Q Who is Bob Stuber, S-T-U-B-E-R?

A I can't recall.

Q Who is Stephanie Mann?

A I don't recall.

Q I show you an appointment calendar, produced by your counsel, for March 26, 1986, it has the identification number 1339, and there is an entry for Stephanie Mann, and under that the initials "CDI." Does that refresh your recollection as to who Stephanie Mann is?

A I have no idea.

Q Who is George Bussey?

A Oh, wait a minute -- CDI is a computer company. I just remembered. I have forgotten the name of it, but they have services of what's available in the Securities Exchange Commission, who owns what stock and stuff.

Q And she is an employee of CDI, you believe?

A Yes.

Q What was the reason that you met with her?

A I wanted to see how their computer service worked.

Q Did you retain them?

A We bought a subscription to their publications, instead.

Q Who is George Bussey, B-U-S-S-E-Y?

A Our stockbroker, one of our two stockbrokers at E.F. Hutton.

Q Who is Robert Dean?

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A He is the owner of Dynasty Limousine Service, Company -- whatever it is.

Q That is a company you used at NEPL?

A Yes.

Q Who is Ed Miles?

A He used to be Treasurer of the American Conservative Trust, and he was with Coopers and Lybrand.

Q What services, if any, did he perform for the Channel organizations, other than being Treasurer of the American Conservative Trust?

A I am not sure the extent to which he performed them, but his firm -- he got us all involved, with Coopers and Lybrand, helping us figure out a new accounting system to put into our organization.

Q Was Mr. Olson ever employed by Coopers and Lybrand?

A No.

Q Who is D. Fish?

A I haven't any idea.

Q I show you an appointment calendar for April 9, 1986, which has control number 1357, and there is a reference to D. Fish. Would that be David Fischer?

A (Witness peruses document.)

Well, maybe. It is possible. I do not recall.

Q That doesn't refresh your recollection as to any other D. Fish?

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A No.

Q Who is Joel Lenne, L-E-N-N-E?

A Well, I don't know that person, either.

Q I show you a calendar dated April 10, 1986, which has your control number 1358, and there is an indication of a conference call you had with Joel Lenne. Does that refresh your recollection?

A (Witness peruses document.)

No. Where is Area Code 603?

Q Do you think that could be Joel "Levine"?

A Maybe.

Q Does that refresh your recollection?

A Where is Area Code 603?

Q I don't know.

A If I knew that, it might give me a better clue. I don't recall.

Q Who is Kim Brenner, B-R-E-N-N-E-R?

A She is a fundraiser with an organization called the Private Sector Council.

Q What was her relationship to NEPL?

A We wanted her to consult with us about how to raise money for our SDI project.

Q She had nothing to do with Nicaragua.

A No.

Q Who is Joe Coates?

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A He is the principal of a firm called J.F. Coates, Incorporated, which is a futures research firm.

Q What was the reason for meeting with him?

A We wanted him to do a study called "Future of Conservatism."

Q Did that have anything to do with the Nicaragua activities?

A No.

Q Who is E.C. Grayson?

A He is a fundraiser with Private Sector Council.

Q What was the reason for meeting with him?

A Same reason as meeting with Kim Brenner.

Q Again, nothing to do with Nicaragua?

A No.

Q Who is George Boetler, B-O-E-T-L-E-R?

A (No audible response.)

Q I will show you a calendar for April 29, 1986, which has your control number 1380. There is an entry for a meeting at 10:00 o'clock; does that refresh your recollection?

A (Witness peruses document.)

I just cannot remember who he is.

Q Who is David Finger?

A The name does not --

Q Or Finzer, maybe; F-I-N-Z-E-R.

A I don't remember.

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Q Who is Mr. Carr, C-A-R-R?

A I don't know.

Q Who is Steve Kelly?

A I don't remember.

Q Or a Steve Keller, does that --

A Oh, Steve Keller, yes. He is a professor of speech, I think, at George Washington University.

Q What was the reason for meeting with him?

A He developed a training program for our fundraisers.

Q Who is Fernando DeBaca?

A I don't know.

Q I show you a calendar for August 22, 1986, which has your control number 1514. I direct you to the entry for Fernando DeBaca; does that refresh your recollection at all?

A (Witness peruses document.)

I don't recall.

Q Who is John McLaughlin?

A Jane McLaughlin.

Q I direct your attention to the same document for an entry with respect to a meeting with John McLaughlin.

A Oh, I am sorry. He is -- it is a polling outfit, Finkelstein, Author Finkelstein and Company, or Associates, or whatever it is.

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Q And he works for the Finkelstein organization?

A Yes.

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MS. LUBIN: Is this a convenient time to break?

MR. FRYMAN: Yes. Mr. Conrad asked that we break at approximately 4:45 today.

You have indicated that it would be convenient to continue tomorrow morning at 9:00 o'clock?

THE WITNESS: Yes.

MR. FRYMAN: Thank you. Off the record.

(Whereupon, at 4:45 p.m, the taking of the deposition was recessed, to reconvene tomorrow, June 25, 1987, at 9:00 a.m.)

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CERTIFICATE OF DEPONENT

I have read the foregoing 155 pages, which contain a correct transcript of the answers made by me to the questions therein recorded. with corrections noted 10/14/87

Daniel Lynn Conrad

DANIEL LYNN CONRAD

- - -

Subscribed and worn to before me this _________ day of ____________________, 1987.

____

Notary Public in and for:

My commission expires:

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CERTIFICATE OF NOTARY REPORTER

I, Terry Barham, the officer before whom the foregoing deposition was taken, do hereby certify that the witness whose testimony appears in the foregoing transcript was duly sworn by me; that the testimony of said witness was taken by me and thereaftrer reduced to typewriting by me or under my supervision; that said deposition transcript is a true record of the testimony given by said witness; that I am neither counsel for, related to, nor employed by any of the parties to the action in which this deposition was taken; and, further, that I am not a relative or employee of any attorney or counsel employed by the parties hereto, nor financially or otherwise interested in the outcome of the action.

Terry Barham, Notary Public in
and for the District of Columbia

My commission expires May 15, 1989.

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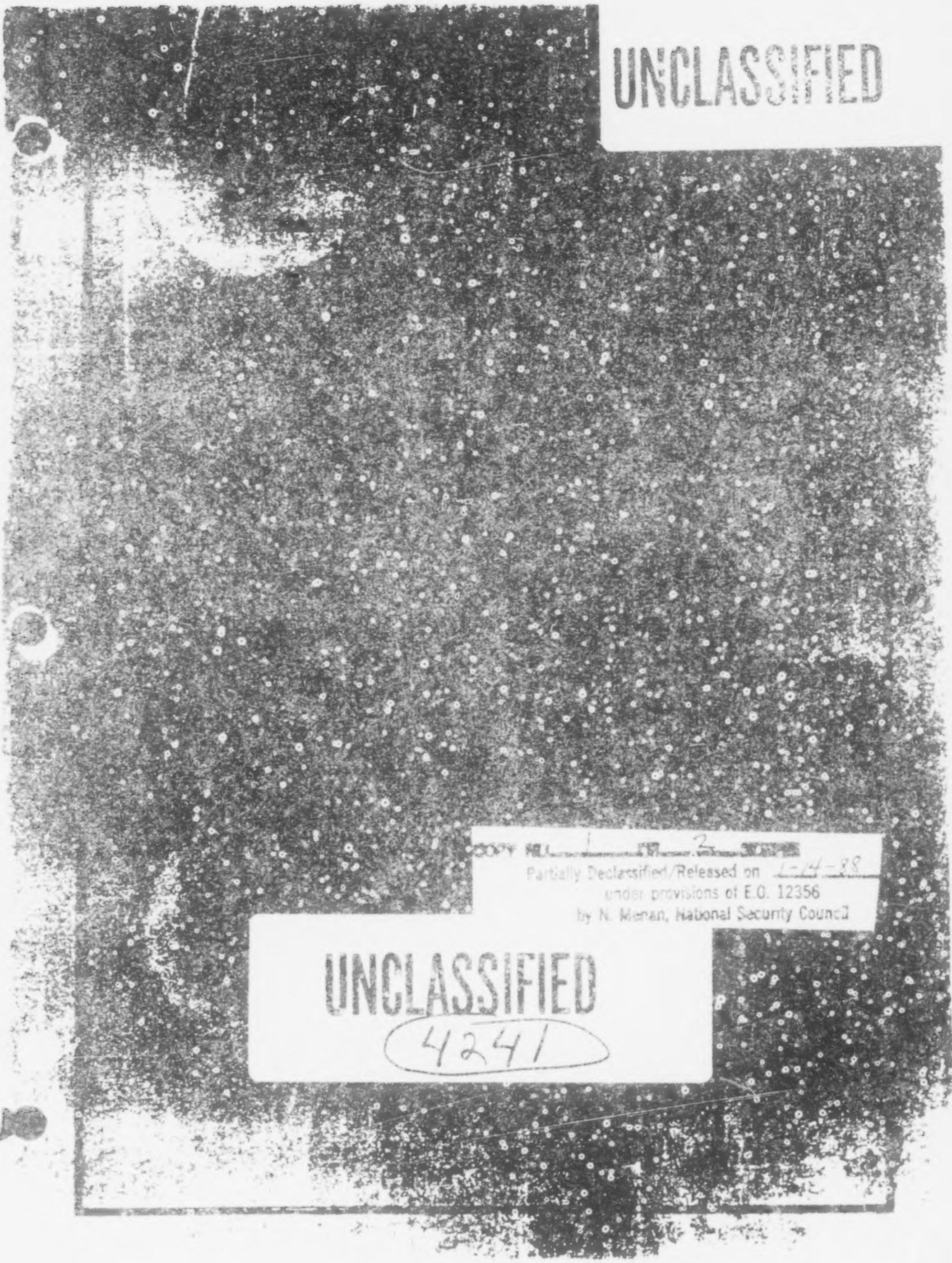

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SELECT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE COVERT
ARMS TRANSACTIONS WITH IRAN
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
AND
SELECT COMMITTEE ON SECRET MILITARY ASSISTANCE
TO IRAN AND THE NICARAGUAN OPPOSITION
UNITED STATES SENATE

- - -

Thursday, June 25, 1987
Washington, D.C.

Continued deposition of DANIEL LYNN CONRAD, taken on behalf of the Select Committees above cited, pursuant to notice, commencing at 9:35 a.m. in Room 901 of the Hart Senate Office Building, before Terry Barham, a notary public in and for the District of Columbia, when were present:

For the House Select Committee:

THOMAS FRYMAN, Esq.
Staff Counsel

SPENCER OLIVER, Esq.
Associate Counsel

KEN BUCK, Esq.
Assistant Minority Counsel

For the Senate Select Committee:

THOMAS McGOUGH, Esq.
Associate Counsel

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by N. Menan, National Security Council

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For the deponent:

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PROCEEDINGS

Whereupon,

DANIEL LYNN CONRAD

resumed as a witness and, having been first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

EXAMINATION BY COUNSEL FOR THE
HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE

MR. FRYMAN: I would ask the Reporter to mark as Conrad Deposition 11 for identification a group of telephone message slips which have been produced by counsel for the Channell organization.

(The documents referred to were marked for identification as Conrad Deposition Exhibit 11.)

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Mr. Conrad, I show you Conrad Deposition Exhibit 11 for identification. I direct your attention to the first page, which has your counsel's control number 19255, and the message at the top "To CRC, from Ollie North," dated 1/27. It indicates that a "Mr. Harper will be calling after 3:00 o'clock."

Were you aware that that call had been received at the NEPL offices from Mr. North?

A No.

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Q Did Mr. Channell tell you that he had spoken with

Mr. North about a call from Mr. Harper?

A No.

Q I direct your attention to the second page of this exhibit, which has your counsel's control number 19226, and the message "To Dan," dated March 4, "From Fawn." Is it correct that the Dan in that message refers to you?

A I think so.

Q And you understand that "Fawn" is Fawn Hall?

A Yes.

Q Would you read the message that appears on that slip?

A "North said March 20th would be too late to talk to donors because the vote is on the 17th. Has to be done before the 17th to be effective."

Q What did you understand by the statement in that message that "March 20th would be too late to talk to donors"?

A We wanted to hold a briefing on March 20th.

Q Right.

A So he is saying the date is inappropriate because the vote will already have been taken on the 17th.

Q So the substance of the message is that it would not be an effective fundraising effort to have a briefing after the vote had been taken?

A Well, not necessarily fundraising. It is just the briefing itself.

Q The purpose of these briefings for your contributors was to aid in the fundraising efforts, was it not?

A Well, it is not the only purpose.

Q What other purposes were there?

A To get them involved in the issue, bring them up to date on what is currently happening.

Q And the reason for getting them involved was to facilitate the fundraising, was it not?

A Well, do all roads lead to fundraising?

Q Well, for your efforts, they do, do they not?

A Well, I mean it is a means to an end, as far as I am concerned.

Q So the briefings were a means to the end of raising funds?

A Among other things.

Q And to have a briefing after the vote would not be an effective at fundraising; is that the substance of this message?

A The substance of the message is that it is inappropriate to have a briefing just after the vote.

Q Do you recall receiving this message

A I don't.

Q Do you recall having a discussion with that subject matter with Colonel North; i.e., the timing of the briefing and its relation to the vote?

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A Well, I had discussions with him on several timing issues, and I don't remember the specific one. We often asked him for briefings, briefing dates. I mean this is just one of the 400 reasons why we didn't have one at that particular time.

Q What other types of timing issues did you discuss with him?

A Perhaps I misspoke myself. I meant to say "scheduling." So we are talking about we would like to have a briefing on such and such a day, and we would call him to check his schedule. Well, as I said, one of several hundred reasons why he couldn't do it on a particular day.

Q I direct your attention to the third page of this exhibit, which has your control number 19145. There is a message in the upper left-hand quarter of the page from Kathleen Hart. Who is Kathleen Hart?

A (Witness peruses document.)

I am afraid I don't recall.

Q The message indicates that it "To Phil." Do you know who Phil would be?

A Phil Meo.

Q You believe it refers to Phil Meo?

A Yes.

Q He was an employee of [illegible] 11, 1986, the date of the message?

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A Yes.

Q Was there any other Phil who was an employee at that time?

A No.

Q And does the identification of Phil refresh your recollection as to who Kathleen Hart might be?

A No, I don't know.

Q The message for Phil is "$225,000 received." Do you know what that message refers to?

A Not specifically.

Q Well, do you know generally?

A Well, we would do wire transfers from time to time to different accounts. I assume this is one of those.

Q But you do not know specifically?

A I don't know.

Q All right. If you would look at the next page of this exhibit, which has your counsel's control number 19099. There is a message, dated March 12 from Rich Miller which states, "Send a personal note to Elliott Abrams. In the note state how good you thought he did on Night Line."

Do you recall any discussion about sending a personal note to Elliott Abrams with respect to his Night Line appearance?

A No.

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Q Did you see Mr. Abrams on Night Line?

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A I can't recall.

Q Do you know if a note was sent to Mr. Abrams from anyone at NEPL?

A I don't know.

Q You have no recollection of such a note?

A No.

Q And you have no recollection of any discussion about such a note with Mr. Miller or Mr. Channell?

A No.

Q If you would turn to the next page of this exhibit, which has your counsel's control number 19038, there is a message "To Dan," which I interpret to be a message to you, dated April 10, "From Fawn," and then it has "North" written after that in a circle, which says, "7:30 tour? Still on." What does that message refer to?

A I had some friends in from out of town, from California, and I wanted to take a private tour of the White House. I talked with Fawn and Ollie about doing that, but we eventually didn't do it.

Q Why not?

A My guests' schedule didn't permit it.

Q But so far as Colonel North and Ms. Hall were concerned, it was possible to arrange such a tour?

A Yes. It was just a social thing, has nothing to do with Nicaragua.

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Q Did your friends have any business relationship with NEPL?

A No.

Q Purely social friends?

A Yes.

Q How large a group was this?

A Two.

Q Turning to the next page, which has your counsel's number 18859, there is a message dated July 28, 1986, from Bruce Cameron, which states, "Re check you sent, his lawyer said that it is not legal for to give it to him. He would like to meet with you when you get back."

Do you recall any discussion of the subject matter of that message?

A No.

Q NEPL was making payments to Mr. Cameron, was it not?

A Yes.

Q So far as you know, Mr. Cameron accepted all of the checks?

A I believe at the beginning -- I don't remember what the issue was, but I think this might have been it. I think he didn't accept the check. I don't remember why.

Q Was the check then reissued in some other manner?

A Yes.

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Q Do you know how it was reissued?

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A From another organization.

Q Now, the message at the top reads, "To CRC," which I take it is Mr. Channell; is that your understanding?

A Yes.

Q Then there appears to be a slash, and is it "Mike"? Who do you understand "Mike" refers to?

A Well, there are two Mikes, so I don't know which one that went to. I can't recall whether Michael Barnes, who was in our Accounting Department, was working at that time.

Q Who is the other Mike?

A Mike Lacobellis.

Q What was his position?

A My assistant.

Q He was your general assistant?

A Yes.

Q How long did Mike Barnes work in the Accounting Department?

A I couldn't tell you.

Q For a period of several months, at least?

A Yes. Oh, yes.

Q What was the period of employment of Mike Lacobellis?

A I think a year.

Q Beginning when?

A April 1986.

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Q And he is still employed by NEPL?

A No.

Q When did he leave?

A A month or so ago.

Q Turning to the next page, which has your counsel's control number 18711, there is a message "From Father Dowling," and which appears to be "To Linda." Do you understand that to be to Linda Guell?

A Yes.

Q The message reads, "He is at Congressman McCallum's office. He will be there for next few minutes." Do you know Father Dowling?

A Yes.

Q How many times have you met with him?

A I believe twice.

Q What were those occasions?

A One was in the Summer of 1986, and he wanted to ask us for some money, wanted to submit a proposal.

Q How did you meet him?

A I don't recall how we got in touch with each other.

Q Did Colonel North introduce you?

A Oh, no.

Q And he wanted to submit a proposal and receive some funds from you?

A Yes.

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Q Who did he meet with other than you?

A No one.

Q Just the two of you?

A Well, Mike Lacobellis, my assistant, was with us, too.

Q Did you meet at the NEPL offices?

A We met at Cafe Berlin, on Massachusetts Avenue.

Q Did you have lunch?

A No. Just Cokes.

Q Did he make a proposal?

A A verbal proposal.

Q How much money was he seeking?

A Over $100,000. I don't remember the amount.

Q And what was this to be for?

A I can't recall, specifically.

Q Well, generally?

A Public education program on the Freedom Fighters.

Q How was he going to educate the public?

A I don't recall the specifics of it.

Q Did he make any written proposal?

A No.

Q He asked for $100,000?

A Something.

Q Something in that range?

A Yes.

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Q And you don't recall how you were introduced to him?

A No.

Q What happened to this proposal?

A I told him to submit a proposal to us, and he never did.

Q All right. Now, you say you met him one other time?

A Yes.

Q When was the second time?

A I think December or January of 1986 or January of 1987.

Q Where was that meeting?

A At the offices of International Business Communications.

Q Who was present?

A Spitz Channell, Rafael Flores, Rich Miller, Father Dowling. There may have been some other people there; I don't recall.

Q How long did this meeting last?

A Oh, maybe 45 minutes, an hour; I don't know.

Q Who arranged this meeting?

A Rich Miller.

Q What was the purpose of this meeting?

A To make a presentation to us.

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Q About what?

A A written proposal to do a public education program.

Q Was such a proposal submitted?

A Yes.

Q Was it discussed at the meeting?

A Yes.

Q How much money was he seeking in this proposal?

A I would have to go look at the proposal itself. I don't recall the amount.

Q Was there anything discussed at the meeting other than the proposal?

A Not that I recall.

Q How did the meeting conclude?

A They gave us a copy of the proposal, and we went away.

Q You were to consider it and get back to them?

A Yes. Right.

Q What decision did you make about the proposal?

A We decided not to do it.

Q Who made that decision?

A Spitz.

Q Do you know the reason?

A I really don't. I don't recall.

Q Were you involved in that decision?

A Only peripherally.

Q Was Mr. Miller urging that you accept this proposal?

A "Urge" is too strong a word.

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Q What word would you use?

A He was just offering it.

Q What do you know about his relationship with Father Dowling?

A Nothing.

Q Were they friends?

A I have no idea.

Q Had you been aware that Father Dowling had assisted Adolfo Calero and various speaking tours?

A No.

Q Now, in August of 1986, what was Linda Guell's position?

A Fundraiser.

Q For what?

A Western Goals.

Q Did she have an office at the NEPL headquarters?

A Yes.

Q Do you know why Father Dowling was calling her in August 1986?

A No.

Q Were you aware that Father Dowling knew Linda Guell?

A No.

Q When did you first learn that?

A I think not until 1987.

Q How did you learn that?

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A Some strange man called our offices -- I don't remember his name -- and he said -- I have all this third-hand. It was reported to me that he said that he had information that we should know about, and it concerned a meeting in November, late November 1986, between Jane McLaughlin, Linda Guell, Father Dowling, himself, this caller, and -- I don't know who else was there. And he said he had photographs to back all this up, and that they were plotting the demise of our organizations. Basically, that was it.

Q Do you know who this person was who called?

A I don't recall the name.

Q Was it Mr. Mabry?

A Yes, that is it.

Q Phil Mabry.

A Phil Mabry, yes.

Q Was he just volunteering this information to you?

A Well, in a peculiar way. He wanted airfare to come up here from -- I mean he said he was going to give it to us, the information, but he wanted airfare to come up. Would we pay his way to come up here so he could tell us in person the full magnitude of the skulduggery that was going on.

Q Who did he call?

A I don't know who he called, but who he spoke with was Liam Flannery, and I believe also Rafael Flores.

Q They reported the conversation to you?

A Yes.

Q Did you meet with Mr. Mabry?

A No.

Q You didn't pay his airfare to come up?

A No.

Q Were you interested in this information that he conveyed to you?

A I thought he was a member of the lunatic fringe.

Q Did you doubt that such a meeting had occurred?

A I didn't care whether it occurred.

Q You weren't concerned about Jane McLaughlin and Linda Guell plotting to destroy your organization?

A That is correct.

Q You were not concerned?

A That is correct.

Q Why not?

A I couldn't fathom them being able to accomplish such a thing.

Q And that was the first time that you were aware that Linda Guell had known or had any association with Father Dowling?

A Yes.

Q Have you learned any more since then about the relationship of Linda Guell and Father Dowling?

A I think they have known each other for a long time, but I don't even know in what connection.

Q How did you learn they have known each other for a long time?

A I cannot recall.

Q Have you since learned any more about them; any relationship between Jane McLaughlin and Father Dowling?

A No.

Q So I take it, then, you have no knowledge of the substance of this telephone message of August 11, 1986, from Father Dowling to Linda Guell?

A No.

Q Would you turn to the next page --

MR. McGOUGH: Before you go on, could I just clarify one point? You say that the meeting that Mabry described took place in November of 1986. Do you recall his phone call came in?

THE WITNESS: I think not until January or February of 1987.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Turning to the next page, which has your counsel's control number 18542, there is a message at the top which states, "Check for Green for $100,000," and it has the initials "CRC" on the message slip and also what appears to be the name "Cliff."

Do you know what that message refers to?

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A I have no idea.

Q The next page has your counsel's control number 18583. In the lower left-hand corner, there is a message "To CRC, from Fawn," dated October 27. The message reads, "Moved breakfast on Tuesday, the 28th, to November 6," and then the names "North, Terry Arnold, Neil Livingston, CRC, Dan and Rob."

Do you know what that message refers to?

A Yes.

Q What?

A We asked for a meeting, a breakfast meeting, with Ollie North between the people listed here, and she was calling to tell us that it got moved from the 28th to November 6th.

Q And that breakfast occurred?

A I think it occurred later than that; the 10th, maybe.

Q Now, who is "Rob"?

A Rob Owen.

Q We have discussed them before, but just identify again, for the record, who Terry Arnold and Neil Livingston are.

A They are -- I don't know -- consultants, I guess, on terrorism. They work with the Institute on Terrorism and Sub-National Conflict, and so does Rob Owen.

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Q So they were all associated in that organization?

A That is correct.

Q What was the purpose of their meeting with you, Colonel North and Mr. Channell in approximately November -- and I take it, this is 1986, correct?

A That is correct. We wanted to tell Colonel North that we were behind him 100 percent, all of us, and we would do what we could to be helpful to him.

Q What does that mean, "you were behind him 100 percent"?

A He was under criticism in the press for -- I don't recall just what, several things, so we just wanted to let him know that he was not going to be defenseless there.

Q What was the purpose of having Rob Owen, Terry Arnold and Neil Livingston in such a meeting where you were going to tell Colonel North that you and Mr. Channell were behind him?

A We wanted to demonstrate solidarity.

Q By why that other particular group?

A They initiated it.

Q They initiated it -- oh, it was their idea to indicate support for Colonel North?

A Yes.

Q And they invited you and Mr. Channell to attend?

A Yes.

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Q Where was this breakfast held?

A The Hay Adams Hotel.

Q Did anyone attend, other than this group that is identified here.

A No. Well, Ollie North.

Q Well, I mean he is identified in the list.

Did Fawn Hall attend?

A No.

Q How did you indicate, at that breakfast meeting, that you were going to stand behind him and support him?

A We didn't have a chance to do it.

Q Why not?

A Because he talked too much.

Q What did he say?

A Oh, he was busy yapping about some crisis or other that he was involved in.

MR. McGOUGH: "He" being North?

THE WITNESS: Yes.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Did the others of you get to say anything that morning?

A Not too much.

Q Nothing of any substance?

A Nothing of any substance.

Q Was his crisis a personal crisis?

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A Oh, no, no, no. Two days later, three days later, something, after the breakfast, we saw everything he said in an Op-Ed piece in the Washington Post that had carried the byline of Robert McFarlane. It was on some national security issue.

Q Do you remember what the issue was?

A I don't recall.

Q So he, in effect, was summarizing Mr. McFarlane's article for you?

A Yes. I sort of got the impression, after I read the article, that he had drafted the piece for McFarlane, but I don't know that for a fact.

MR. McGOUGH: I assume that it was not Iran or Nicaragua that was the subject of the Op-Ed piece; or do you recall?

THE WITNESS: It is easy enough to check. I mean all we have to do is go back and look, but I don't remember.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Now, Mr. Conrad, are you aware that there were various transfers of funds, particularly in March of 1986, from the bank account of NEPL -- and here I am using "NEPL" specifically as the National Endowment for the Preservation of Liberty -- to the bank account of Sentinel?

A The question, again, is "Did I know that?"

Q Yes.

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A I don't recall. I would have to look at the financial records.

Q Well, as a general matter, were you aware that there were financial transfers occurring, where money was being transferred from NEPL to other Channell organizations?

A Sometimes I knew and sometimes I didn't.

Q But you knew that some transfers had occurred?

A Yes.

Q And were you aware that there were transfers from NEPL to Sentinel?

A I don't recall. I would have to look. I mean it is a question of fact, and I don't remember.

Q Do you recall any discussion of the need for such transfers?

A No.

Q Did you authorize transfers from NEPL to other Channell organizations?

A Sometimes.

Q Which ones?

A There are 11 organizations; I don't know.

Q Who would come to you, seeking authorization? Is this something, as a general matter, Mr. McMahon would come to you for your approval?

A Well, I wouldn't put it quite so strongly. Sometimes he would ask me; usually he would just do it on his own, or perhaps Spitz would tell him. On the odd occasion where neither of those two things happened, he would come to me and ask me what to do.

Q But there were occasions where you did authorize transfers of funds --

MS. LUBIN: Could we go off the record for a moment?

MR. FRYMAN: Yes. Off the record.

[Brief discussion off the record.]

MR. FRYMAN: Back on the record.

During the break there was a discussion about this area of questioning, and it was agreed that this area would be deferred until a later point in the examination.

MS. LUBIN: Thank you.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Mr. Conrad, did Channell Corporation perform services for the National Endowment for the Preservation of Liberty? Let me phrase that question another way.

In the financial records, there are various payments from NEPL to the Channell Corporation, and my general question is, what were those payments for, if you know?

A Well, I am afraid you will have to ask the Accounting Department. I can't respond. I don't know how to respond.

MS. LUBIN: Can you be more particular?

MR. FRYMAN: Let me pass this area for the time being, also, then.

BY MR. FRYMAN:

Q Let me ask you one other question in the general matter. The NEPL financial records indicate a number of checks that were made payable to cash. Were you aware that checks were being drawn to cash on various occasions?

A On various occasions, yes.

Q What was the reason for that?

A I would have to look at the specific checks.

Q Could you tell by looking at a specific check, payable to cash, as to the reason for it?

A In some instances.

Q Can you give me examples of reasons why checks were payable to cash?

A I am really grasping at straws because I mean it is a matter of financial record keeping, and they knew at the time what it was. On the odd occasion, I would know what it was for. Sometimes I didn't even know that a check was made out to cash. I can't think of any instances at the minute, but I know that we did it sometimes.

Q When you refer to "they," are you referring to Mr. McMahon or Mr. Meo?

A Yes.

Q The people in the Accounting Department?

A Yes.

Q They were aware of the reason for drawing a check to cash?

A Yes.

T1S2

Q Did you have any knowledge of checks that had been drawn by International Business Communications to cash?

A No.

Q Specifically, in March and April of 1986, three checks in the approximate amount of $20,000 each, payable to cash?

A No.

Q That was never discussed with you?

A No.

Q Do you have any knowledge of checks, payable to cash, ever being used to pay expenses for media campaigns?

A No.

Q Are you familiar with an organization called the Heritage Foundation?

A Yes.

Q Did you ever have any role in causing funds to be transmitted to the Heritage Foundation?

A No. I didn't know there were any.

Q Do you have any knowledge of funds being transferred to any of Mr. Miller's organizations from the Heritage Foundation?

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A No.

Q We have previously discussed Roy Godson in this deposition.

A Yes.

Q Are you aware of any activity by Mr. Godson with respect to raising funds for Nicaragua or entities related to Nicaragua?

A No.

Q Are you aware of any fundraising activities by Faith Whittlesy?

A No.

I have just remembered something. I think the country that we discussed at the breakfast was Iran, Iran and China. And that is what then came out in the Op-Ed piece.

Q Mr. Conrad, we have talked a little bit about Western Goals in this deposition.

A Yes.

Q Were there two separate Western Goals organizations?

A I think there were four.

Q What were the four, then?

A Western Goals Foundation, Western Goals Endowment Fund, Western Goals Legal Defense Fund and Western Goals.

Q What was the reason for four separate organizations?

A Well, the Western Goals Foundation was a 501(c)(3), and Western Goals Endowment Fund -- I am not sure of the

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legal definition or designation, but it was intended to be able to receive large contributions, so that the 501(c)(3) could meet its public support test.

The Legal Defense Fund, I don't know what that was for. I never had anything to do with it. But it had a different purpose altogether, which I don't even know what it was. Then Western Goals -- I don't really know the history of that. When we took over the Western Goals Foundation and Western Goals Endowment Fund, our attorney recommended that we just let it lapse. So I don't really know what its original purpose was, even.

Q Was Western Goals merged into the Western Goals Foundation?

A No. It was just let lapse.

Q Western Goals itself just ceased to function?

A Yes.

Q To your knowledge, it was not formally merged into one of the other organizations?

A No, it definitely was not. We had to make a conscious decision not to do that.

Q And Western Goals was allowed to lapse, on the advice or your attorney?

A Yes.

Q And you don't know the reason?

A No.

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Q Do you know if Western Goals Endowment received any of the assets or liabilities from Western Goals when it ceased to function?

A I have no idea. My understanding was that Western Goals didn't have any assets.

Q How about liabilities?

A I don't think it had any liabilities either.

Q We talked yesterday briefly about Congressmen who had been targeted in connection with the CAFP program, and the votes on Contra aid and Congressmen in Congress. Generally, what was your understanding of the procedure for targeting specific Congressmen? How were these particular Congressmen identified as targets?

A Through an analysis of their voting record.

Q Who did the analysis?

A A variety of different people.

Q Who?

A Well, at different times different people did it. I think Bruce Cameron did it. I think Dan ~~Kirchendahl~~ Kuykendall ? did it. I think Rich Miller did it. I think there were more people involved but I don't remember, really. Spitz did it. I think Rafael Flores did it.

Q Were there ever meetings of some or all of the group that you have identified, where the purpose of the meeting was to identify particular Congressmen as targets?

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A Well, more appropriately put, that would be we would have meetings with various people and they would submit who they thought were good and tell why, and all that. Spitz would take it away to decide whether or not he wanted to target them.

Q Would this be meetings with individuals from this group on an individual basis, or would it be larger group meetings where there would be a consensus reached, or could it be both?

A It is both, but there is no consensus. Spitz is a dictator.

Q Spitz made the decision?

A Yes.

Q What was the White House's role in identifying the targets with respect to the CAFP program?

A I don't know that they even had a role.

Q What about Colonel's North's role?

A I don't remember whether he was specifically involved in the Central American Freedom Program or not. We asked him, from time to time, for his analysis of who the possible swing votes would be. From time to time, he gave us those, but that didn't mean anything because Spitz would make the final decision.

Q Do you know if anyone maintained any minutes of any meetings with respect to selecting targeted Congressmen?

A No, I do not know.

Q You are not aware of the existence of such minutes?

A No.

Q What was John Robert's role in selecting Congressmen as targets?

A Nothing.

MR. FRYMAN: Mr. Conrad, I have no further questions at this time. Your counsel and I have agreed that I will defer an area of questioning I have with regard to certain particular financial aspects of NEPL and other Channell organizations.

MS. LUBIN: Agreed.

MR. FRYMAN: My colleagues, Mr. McGough and Mr. Oliver, I believe have some questions at this time.

MR. McGOUGH: Why don't we take the five minutes you wanted and give me a chance to organize my notes.

MR. FRYMAN: Off the record.

[Whereupon, a brief recess was taken.]

MR. McGOUGH: On the record.

EXAMINATION BY COUNSEL FOR THE

SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE

BY MR. McGOUGH:

Q Mr. Conrad, if there is any question I ask you and you don't understand, feel free to ask for clarification. What I would like to do is cover some specific points that may already have been covered, but I want to tack down some corners and then I want to ask some broader questions that may not key into documents exactly, but have to do, really, with motivation, state of mind and that sort of thing at various points in the course of events that we discuss.

I have in my notes, but I want to make sure we had it clear, that there had been an earlier question regarding gifts or things of value being given to Colonel North and his family. I believe you testified that you recalled the Newington weekend as the transportation and the trip, the airplane trip, to meet with Mr. Hunt and a briefcase as being three items that could fall into the category of gifts or other things of value being provided to Colonel North or his family.

Can you recall any other items that may have been provided, to your knowledge, by NEPL -- when I speak of NEPL, I speak broadly of the Channell organizations, or anyone associated with NEPL -- to Colonel North or his family?

A No, nothing else.

Q Nothing?

A The occasional dark beer.

Q Let's say with a retail value in excess of $10.

A I think we paid for his breakfast on November 10th, and the last I recall, breakfasts there were considerably more than $10.

Q Let's set aside meals or beverages. Maybe that is the easier way to do it.

A All right. No, nothing else.

Q Can you describe the briefcase that you gave to Colonel North?

A Black.

Q Leather?

A Yes.

Q Do you recall the approximate retail value?

A Five hundred and some dollars.

Q Do you recall ever seeing him use it?

A No.

Q Approximately when did you give him that briefcase?

A I would have to go back and look at the dates. I don't know.

Q Was it late 1985, early 1986, mid-1986? Can you pin it down even that much?

A I am not good at that. Sorry. I would have to look.

Q Did you present it to him in his office?

A No.

Q Where did you give it to him?

A I didn't give it to him.

Q Who gave it to him?

A I don't know.

Q How was it transferred to him, if you know?

A I believe it was given to Fawn.

Q By whom?

A I am not remembering.

Q Do you know if he personally ever received the briefcase? Did he ever acknowledge receipt of the briefcase?

A Oh, I saw him in his office with the briefcase, putting some thing in it, one time.

Q Did he ever thank you for it?

A I can't recall.

Q Did you ever see Colonel North or observe him in possession of Travelers Checks at any time?

A No.

Q Did you ever observe him in possession of cash in amounts greater than, say, $100?

A No.

Q Did you ever see any Travelers Checks or cash in excess of $100 in his office or office suites?

A No.

Q Did he ever discuss Travelers Checks with you?

A No.

Q Did he ever discuss handling large amounts of cash?

A No.

Q There was an audit of receipts to the Channell organizations done by a Big Eight accounting firm, or an accounting firm, whose name escapes me right now. It was not a Big Eight firm. Simmermacher and Phelps; is that right?

A That is right.

Q And it was the conclusion of that audit that the receipts of the Channell organizations were all attributable to identifiable private donors. Is that a fair summary of it?

A Yes.

Q To your knowledge, was the Simmermacher and Phelps audit, and the conclusions derived there from, accurate?

A Oh, of course.

Q You have no reason to believe that it was inaccurate in any regard?

A That is correct.

Q Can we conclude from that, that to your knowledge, none of the proceeds of the Iranian arms sales found their ways into the accounts or possession of any of the Channell organizations?

A Would that they had.

Q The answer is no, they did not?

A The answer is no, they did not.

Q To your knowledge, did any of the Channell organizations conduct advertising or public education campaigns that were not paid for entirely by one of the Channell organizations? Did they joint venture a campaign with any other entity? Did they arrange or were they aware of other

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entities contributing directly to the funding of a particular campaign?

A No.

Q I am not trying to confuse you. What I am looking for is whether, for example, NEPL decided to launch a pro-Nicaraguan educational campaign, and contracted for ads, and then paid for a portion of those ads, and had or knew of other entities or persons paying for the other portions of the ads. That is not a question, but that is just to illustrate the type of thing I am looking for.

To your knowledge, when NEPL or the Channell organizations conducted an ad campaign, did they pay for 100 percent of that ad campaign or that public education campaign?

A Yes.

Q Did you ever discuss NEPL's role in raising and providing direct aid to the Contras with any other government official, other than Oliver North?

A Not that I recall.

Q All right. I will give you just a couple of names. Elliott Abrams. Did you ever discuss NEPL's role in direct assistance to the Contras with Elliott Abrams?

A No.

Q Did you ever discuss it with William Casey, or know of its discussion with William Casey?

A I have no knowledge.

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Q To your knowledge did Colonel North, or any other government official, assist NEPL or any of the other Channell organizations in obtaining IRS approval for tax-exempt status?

A No.

Q Prior to the disclosure of the Iranian arms sale in early November 1986, were you aware of any overtures being made by any government official to Iran?

A No.

Q Did Colonel North ever discuss any aspect of the Iranian arms sale or initiative with you, or with anyone in your presence?

A No.

Q Were you aware of any involvement by Colonel North in Iranian matters?

A Well, as I mentioned, on November 10th, 1986, he did discuss Iran, but that was the first time I ever heard him say it.

Q Was that the day of the breakfast that you had with him?

A Yes.

Q You mentioned, in the course of Mr. Fryman's questions, perhaps a week ago or two weeks ago, where you explained a note in your to-do list about a private plan by Colonel North to rescue the hostages, and indicated, I believe, if my memory serves me correctly, that this was a

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suggestion that you or someone made to Colonel North, that might be used as a fundraising tool. Is that a fair summary?

A Yes.

Q At the time that you made that suggestion, what was his response?

A Well, I believe I responded at the time that he said he had matters in hand and we didn't need to do that.

Q Did you ever discuss with Colonel North any of his plans or any of his activities in the area of hostage rescue or hostage release?

A He mentioned them to us from time to time.

Q What did he mention about them?

A That he was involved in it and he was running off here or there to deal with it, and negotiations going on.

Q Did he ever discuss with you any specific plans to rescue the hostages or to release the hostages?

A Not that I recall.

Q Were you aware of any involvement by Richard Miller and an alleged Saudi Arabian prince in a possible plan to rescue the hostages?

A I didn't know anything about it.

Q Were you aware of any involvement of Drug Enforcement Administration agents in plans to rescue the hostages?

A No.

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Q Did you ever hear Richard Miller discuss any of his dealings with an alleged Saudi prince?

A Yes. I met the prince.

Q You met the prince. What occasion was that?

A 1985 in Rich Miller's offices.

Q What were you told about the prince?

A He was a prince. I mean nothing -- "Here, meet a prince," you know.

Q Do you know why he was in IBC's office?

A I assumed they had business dealings together.

Q Did you discuss those business dealings with the prince, or with Mr. Miller or anyone at IBC?

A No.

Q Were you aware of any involvement by the prince in possible aid to the Contras?

A No.

Q We have discussed [redacted] as a possible source for funds to the Contras and the name of [redacted] cropped up in a couple of the to-do lists.

Are you aware of any solicitation of any other nations or national governments for assistance to the Contras, by NEPL or anyone else?

A I have no knowledge.

Q Did Colonel North ever discuss with you efforts to raise money from other countries for support of the Contras?

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A Not that I recall.

Q Did Elliott Abrams ever discuss with you efforts to raise money from other countries to support the Contras?

A I have never discussed anything with Elliott Abrams.

Q Have you ever met Elliott Abrams?

A No. Wait, I take that back. I may have shaken his hand.

Q Mr. Channell has told us that there was a lunch with Elliott Abrams in January of 1986, shortly before Mr. Abrams appeared at a White House briefing. Were you present at that lunch?

A No.

Q I think it took place at the Prime Rib. Were you aware of the lunch --

A This is not atypical.

Q I understand that. But are you aware that there was such a lunch?

A Yes.

Q You know the lunch I am speaking of. You were not present?

A I was not present.

Q Your background, Mr. Conrad, is it fair to say, is a fundraiser?

A Yes.

Q Professional fundraiser?

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A Yes.

Q You have worked, over the years, for a number of organizations, either as an employee or as an outside consultant in the role of fundraising or assisting them with their fundraising; is that right?

A Yes.

Q Prior to 1985, had you ever been involved in political fundraising?

A No.

Q Prior to 1985, had you ever been involved in a political campaign?

A No.

Q Prior to 1985, had you ever worked directly with any Federal agency or governmental body as a consultant?

A Yes.

Q What was that?

A Action.

Q All right. When was that?

A I don't remember. I mean you are asking for a long time ago.

Q Twenty years ago?

A No, no. I mean within the last 10 years.

Q Within the last 10 years. What did you do for Action?

A I conducted training programs for them, different

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locations around the United States.

Q Training people in what?

A Training their grantees in how to get money, nongovernmental funds.

Q Other than that, can you recall any --

A Oh, various government agencies, I have done that with. The same idea.

Q So from time to time, you have worked as a consultant for various government agencies?

A Yes.

Q In the area of grantsmanship, I think you call it?

A Yes.

Q You had, during your fundraising career, been involved with a number of 501(c)(3) corporations, have you not?

A Yes.

Q What is your understanding for which a 501(c)(3) can raise money?

MS. LUBIN: Can we go off the record a minute.

MR. McGOUGH: Yes. Off the record.

[Brief discussion off the record.]

BY MR. McGOUGH:

Q What is your understanding as to the permissible purposes for which a 501(c)(3) organization might raise money?

A Well, normally, I wouldn't concern myself with that. It is not a question that often comes up in fundraising. You almost take it for granted that what you are going after is appropriate. You wouldn't dream of questioning it, in most instances, 99 percent of the time. I can't say that before I came to Washington that I ever had to deal with that issue. I can't recall one instance of that ever coming up.

Q I understand that. But the question still stands and that is, what is your understanding as to what the appropriate or permissible purposes are for fundraising for a 501(c)(3)?

A There is a list in the Tax Code of all the things that are permitted, education -- I mean just various -- I would have to look at the thing to know.

Q Prior to your association with the Channell groups, had you ever worked for an organization, either as an employee or as a consultant, where you had a doubt as to the tax-exempt -- as to the propriety of the use of the funds for which you were raising money?

A No.

Q At the time Mr. Channell asked you to -- and I don't want to get this in the wrong sequence, but at the time Mr. Channell presented you with the opportunity to work on the Nicaraguan, be that before or after you entered into a formal relationship with his organizations, at the time you were presented with an opportunity to work on the Nicaraguan issue and the Contra issue, did you at that time have personal opinions about the political situation in Nicaragua?

A No.

Q None whatsoever?

A No.

Q Did you have any objection or reservations, from the personal political standpoint, about raising funds for the Contras?

A No.

Q Would you have had any personal political reservations about raising funds for the Sandinistas?

A Well, now, certainly, of course.

Q At the time; I am talking about at the time.

A At the time, I didn't know who they were.

Q At the time, you really didn't understand the issue at all?

A I didn't know where Nicaragua was.

Q I guess what I am trying to get at, did you care what the issue was at the time you accepted the challenge?

A No.

Q It was just something, another retention to assist in the raising of money for a particular issue?

A Sure.

Q I would like to run down the names of some of the contributors to Mr. Channell's organizations and ask you what personal contact you might have had, or knowledge of solicitations directed to each one.

We have discussed John Ramsey which occurred in the Spring of 1985. Was the dinner that we discussed before your first contact with Mr. Ramsey?

A Nothing sticks out in my memory as an earlier contact.

Q After that dinner, did you ever have any further personal contact with Mr. Ramsey?

A Sure.

Q On what occasions?

A He came to various different events.

Q Were you ever involved in asking him for money, personally; that is, you personally?

A No.

Q Were you ever present at the time when anyone, working with Mr. Channell's organizations asked him for money?

A None that I recall.

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Q We have also discussed Bunker Hunt and a dinner that took place in Dallas with Colonel North and Mr. Channell. Was that dinner your first personal contact with Bunker Hunt?

A I believe it was.

Q After that dinner, did you have personal contact with Mr. Hunt?

A Yes.

Q Did any of that personal contact involve solicitation for money?

A No.

Q Were you present at any time when anyone associated with Mr. Channell's organizations solicited Mr. Hunt for money?

A Not that I recall.

Q Barbara Newington. Can you recall any personal contact with Barbara Newington?

A Yes.

Q What is your first recollection of a personal contact with Ms. Newington?

A I met her, she was at the offices. I don't know how to answer the question. I met her several times.

Q Were you ever present at a time when Mrs. Newington was solicited for a contribution?

A Yes.

Q On what occasions, or occasion?

A The first one I remember is this year, and we asked her for a contribution for a monument.

Q Is this the Berlin Monument?

A Yes. I was present another time -- I can't remember what the purpose was for it.

Q Were you present at a meeting on or about

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November 7th, 1985, at the Hay Adams Hotel, in a suite at the Hay Adams Hotel, where Mrs. Newington met with Mr. Channell, Mr. Miller, and Colonel North?

A No.

Q Are you aware of the meeting I'm discussing?

A Not specifically.

Q There has been testimony that a solicitation was made of Mrs. Newington, on or about that time, to contribute toward the purchase of Surface to Air missiles. Are you aware of any such solicitation being made?

A I knew she was solicited; I didn't know what for.

Q How did you know she was solicited?

A Spitz told me.

Q What did he tell you about the solicitation?

A I really don't recall.

Q Do you recall whether you were aware that she was solicited for arms?

A No.

Q Do you recall an amount that she was asked for?

A No.

Q All right. Let me ask Ellen Garwood; do you recall your first contact with Mrs. Garwood?

A I don't remember when was the first.

Q Were you ever present at a time when Mrs. Garwood was asked for money?

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A I can't recall.

Q Were you ever aware that Mrs. Garwood was asked for money for arms?

A I didn't know what for.

Q You mean you didn't know what kind of arms, or you didn't know whether it was for arms?

A I didn't know that it was for arms.

Q Were you aware that Colonel North, at one point, produced an arms list for Mrs. Garwood?

A I was later informed, yes.

Q By whom?

A I believe Spitz Channell.

Q You say, "later." Was that more or less contemporaneously, or are you talking recently?

A Contemporaneously.

Q What did he tell you?

A I don't recall the specifics.

Q Were you surprised that Colonel North had presented Mrs. Garwood with an arms list?

A No.

Q Why not?

A Because he produced one for Bunker Hunt.

Q Patricia Beck. I believe you testified that you were under the impression that Mrs. Beck had been solicited for two Surface to Air missiles.

A Yes.

Q By Cliff Smith; is that right?

A Yes.

Q Were you present when that solicitation occurred?

A No.

Q Did Mr. Smith tell you that that is, in fact, what happened?

A Yes.

Q Is he your only source for that information?

A I don't understand.

Q I guess what I am saying is, other than Mr. Smith, did anyone else discuss that solicitation with you?

A Not that I recall.

Q Were you aware, prior to the solicitation, that it was going to take place?

A I knew she was going to be solicited, yes.

Q Did you know for what she was going to be solicited?

A I don't recall if I knew that or not.

Q Had you provided Mr. Smith with the information on the Surface to Air missiles?

A I don't recall that either.

Q Do you know how he came into possession of information on Surface to Air missiles?

A I can make an educated guess, but I don't know.

Q Make your educated guess.

A Well, I told Spitz what the prices were, and I assume that Spitz told Cliff.

Q Are you aware of any other situations in which Mrs. Beck was solicited for weapons?

A No.

Q Thomas Claggett. Do you know Mr. Claggett?

A Yes.

Q A memorable person, to say the least. Who was his solicitor; do you recall?

A I think ~~C~~Khris Littledale.

Q Were you ever present when a solicitation was made of Mr. Claggett?

A No.

Q Were you aware of, at that time or shortly thereafter, at the time of any solicitations or shortly thereafter, that Mr. Claggett had made contributions towards the purchase of arms?

A I didn't know what it was for.

Q You knew he had made a contribution?

A Yes.

Q But you didn't know it was for arms, or for lethal assistance?

A No, I did not know.

Q When did you find that out for the first time, if you have ever found out?

A I mean allegations about; I have no idea.

Q The allegations that you are referring to are those allegations that have cropped up, say, since the beginning of this year?

A Yes.

Q We discussed Mr. Ramsey, Mr. Hunt, Mrs. Newington, Mrs. Garwood, Mrs. Beck and Mr. Claggett. To your knowledge, were any other contributors or potential contributors to Channell organizations solicited for arms or lethal assistance to the Contras?

A Well, one of the Hoopers.

Q Which one?

A I don't know. I get them confused. Bruce or Ralph was asked for $100,000 for arms.

Q By whom?

A By Jane McLaughlin. This is from Jane McLaughlin that I got this information, which I did not get until the day she quit, in January of 1987.

Q Were you surprised? I recall there was a letter, or draft of a letter that was never sent, saying something like "You were not authorized to do this, and we were shocked that you did this." Is that accurate? Were you shocked at the time to hear that she had done that?

A I wasn't particularly shocked, no.

Q Why not?

A Because we had asked other people for arms.

Q All right. Other than Bruce Hooper, anyone else that you can recall?

A Well, I believe Dr. Mary Adamkiewicz and Mrs. Barbara Christian were asked for Red Eye missiles, if I recall properly.

Q Let's focus on Dr. Adamkiewicz first. Do you recall --

A They were together.

Q They were together, it was the same time?

A Yes.

Q Can you recall where this took place?

A I am not sure.

Q Were you present when this solicitation took place?

A I cannot recall.

Q Do you remember who made the solicitation?

A No.

Q Do you remember when it was made?

A Not specifically.

Q Were Dr. Adamkiewicz and Mrs. Christian together on a number of occasions --

A Yes.

Q -- or would they just be for NEPL functions?

A Well, they were together for NEPL functions.

Q So it was at a NEPL function at which the

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solicitation took place?

A Well, maybe we need to clarify what is a "NEPL function."

Q One of the White House briefings, perhaps.

A Okay.

Q Was it at a White House briefing?

A Well, it wouldn't have occurred at a White House briefing, certainly not.

Q At a follow-up dinner to the White House briefing, or something like that?

A Yes, something like that.

Q I guess what I am talking about, do you have a recollection of these two women being solicited at the same time? I am just trying to pull along the memory, because you can't even remember if you were there or whether you just heard about it.

A Well, they were around a lot. They came down quite often, so I just don't remember.

Q I guess what I am focusing on is, why do you have this recollection that they were asked for Red Eye missiles? What is it that triggers that recollection? What do you key it to?

A Well, they had a meeting with Ollie in his office where Red Eye missiles were discussed.

Q Were you present at that meeting

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A I can't remember whether I was there or not.

Q All right.

A But I know that happened, either by report or by my being there. I just don't remember. I know that they were solicited, and they gave for that, but I don't remember who -- I mean, again, I can make educated guesses but I don't know for sure.

Q Do you know how much they gave?

A Well, I used to know but, again, that is a matter of financial record.

Q If you were to review your financial records, would you be able to pick out the contributions to which you are referring?

A Probably.

MR. McGOUGH: Could I ask that he attempt to do that? It doesn't seem to me to be an outlandish request that he take a look.

MS. LUBIN: Off the record, please.

[Brief discussion off the record.]

MR. McGOUGH: Back on the record.

BY MR. McGOUGH:

Q Other than Mr. Hooper or Dr. Adamkiewicz and Mrs Christian, anyone else that you can recall being solicited for lethal assistance or weapons?

A None that I recall.

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Q When I was asking you questions two weeks ago, or whenever it was, the first day, we were discussing, really focusing on the period from early 1985 up until the Hunt solicitation in September or so of 1985. At that time I asked you, I believe, whether in the Spring of 1985 you had any reservations about what you were doing vis-a-vis soliciting, the types of solicitations, the things you were soliciting money for. I think, if I recall correctly, that you said you didn't at that time, but that later on you began to develop reservations of that, the propriety of what you were doing.

A Yes.

Q I would like to explore that a little bit with you and ask you when you began to develop those reservations, and why you began to develop those reservations. First, when?

THE WITNESS: Can we go off the record.

MR. McGOUGH: Off the record.

[Briefly off the record. Witness and counsel consult privately.]

MR. McGOUGH: Back on the record.

BY MR. McGOUGH:

Q I can repeat the question, which is, essentially, when did you begin to have reservations about the propriety of what you were doing?

A In September of 1985.

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Q Was it triggered by a specific event?

A Yes.

Q What was that?

A In the solicitation of Bunker Hunt, when Ollie North produced his list of weapons.

Q Now you knew, going into that solicitation, that Colonel North was going to bring with him a list, did you not?

A Yes.

Q I believe you told us before that you, at that time, told him he could put anything he wanted on the list as long as it totaled up to a certain amount.

A Yes.

Q Did you know, going into the solicitation, before he actually produced the list for Mr. Hunt, that that list had weapons on it?

A No.

Q Were you surprised that it had weapons on it?

A Yes.

Q Why?

A My concept of how the arrangement was working, under which we could legally do this, was the concept of fungible money. So in other words, if we sent money directly to the Contras it could be used for the stated purposes, humanitarian aid, food, boots and so on. That, in turn, would free up money that the Contras had gotten from other

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sources that they wouldn't have to spend on food and that, therefore, they could turn around and spend on weapons.

So when he produced a list of weapons, it struck me that what he should have produced was a $14 million list, half of which was weapons. Then we asked for $7 million, it could go directly for the humanitarian aid part, and then it would free up $7 million that could be spent on weapons.

Q But going into that meeting, you didn't specifically tell Colonel North to do that?

A No. I no idea he was going to do that.

Q Certainly by that time you knew, did you not, that there were people out there who would prefer to contribute to weapons rather than humanitarian, did you not?

A Oh, sure.

Q John Ramsey, perhaps, being an example of that?

A Sure.

Q Up until that Hunt meeting, did you ever consider it expeditious to approach those people and say, "Give money for weapons," specifically?

A I didn't consider it expeditious.

Q What was it about soliciting for weapons, per se, that you found unsettling?

A Well, I believe someone said that that was illegal, but I don't recall who.

Q You mean someone at that time said it was illegal?

A At some time since I arrived in Washington. Up until that time I had been informed by somebody -- I don't even know in what connection -- that soliciting money for arms was illegal.

Q At the time of the Hunt dinner, did you take any action on the basis of your reservations? Did you have any discussions with anyone about it?

A No.

Q Did you talk to Mr. Channell about it?

A No.

Q Would it be fair to say that after the Hunt dinner, as things went further along, your reservations began to grow?

A I guess not.

Q Did you ultimately become more comfortable with that type of solicitation, that is solicitation for weapons alone?

A Yes.

Q Why?

A Because I felt that we had found a way to be able to legally do it.

Q And what was that way?

A I have just described it, which is the fungible-money concept.

Q But we can also agree that you were aware of solicitations being made directly for weapons; that is, where a donor was being told, "If you contribute $44,000 you can buy two Red Eye missiles"?

A Yes.

Q Now, that is no longer fungible money, is it?

A Yes. The way I perceived it, what you could do -- I didn't find out until much later, I think in the last few months, that it is illegal to ask for the weapons. What I thought was illegal was if you bought the weapons. Well, we weren't ever buying weapons. We never once bought a single weapon, never once sent any money for that purpose. We sent money for humanitarian aid, so I thought it didn't make any difference what we asked for.

And if they liked it, if they liked to give for that, fine; and who were we to say that, in fact, the money wouldn't eventually end up freeing up other money so that it could, in fact, be spent on those things.

Q By late 1985, you had been involved in fundraising for a considerable period of time, had you not?

A Yes.

Q Up until that time, had you ever told someone that they were giving money for something and then not taking steps to ensure that that money actually was applied to that purpose?

A Well, that occasion had never arisen before. Raising money is -- it is someone else's responsibility to spend it.

Q But once you have raised the money, don't you feel that you have some obligation, at least a minimal obligation, to ensure that the money is spent for the purpose for which you are raising it?

A Well, to the extent that I can do that, I mean to the extent that you think the people who are spending the money aren't doing it properly. That never arose in all the time that I was doing this.

Q I guess what I am driving at -- I don't want to be veiled about it -- is didn't you feel some -- weren't you misrepresenting things to your donors by telling them that if they gave $22,000 or $44,000, they would be contributing toward the purchase of Red Eye missiles when, in fact, what you were going to do was throw the money in a big pot without any idea as to what was going to happen to that money?

A Well, I didn't think it was misleading. I think it is more like the rhythm with which you beat the drum. I mean they are deeply interested in going forth into battle, and you ignore that at your peril.

Q Let's talk about Mrs. Garwood for a minute, who was presented with an arms list by Colonel North.

A Yes.

Q And was told that if she gave a $1.2 million -- I don't know if that is a correct figure, $1.2 million -- that these arms could be purchased, all right. Was it your understanding that if Mrs. Garwood gave that $1.2 million, that that money would, in fact, be used for those arms?

A I did not know.

Q Did you consider it NEPL's obligation to find out?

A No.

Q Did you see anything wrong with NEPL telling her, presenting her with an arms list, telling her that if she gave $1.2 million, those arms would be purchased when, in fact, what you were telling her was that it would be contributed -- when, in fact, what would be done is that it would be contributed to fungible money for the Contras?

A Well, I didn't see a problem there.

Q Did you ever discuss with Mr. Channell any reservation you had about soliciting money for arms. Let's set aside what happened to the money after you got it, but did you ever discuss with Mr. Channell any reservations you had about asking these people for money for arms?

A No.

Q Did you ever discuss any such reservations with Colonel North?

A Not that I recall.

Q When NEPL received a contribution from a donor, and let's talk about for direct assistance to the Contras. When it received a contribution for direct assistance, did it deduct a certain amount from that contribution before passing it along to IBC or to Adolfo Calero, or wherever the contribution went?

A Sometimes.

Q Was there a fixed percentage that NEPL took for overhead or expenses?

A No.

Q Did it vary?

A Yes.

Q Who made the determination as to how much to take?

A Spitz.

Q What is the lowest amount you ever recall being deducted from a contribution before it was passed along?

A Well, in some cases, we added to it.

Q So in some cases the entire contribution was passed along?

A Plus other monies.

Q What is the highest amount you recall being retained by NEPL from a particular contribution?

A Well, I would have to look at the financial records. I don't know.

Q Higher than 50 percent?

A Oh, I don't think.

Q You can't recall any instances of that happening?

A I don't think so, no. It was usually was like 20 or 25 percent, but it varied all over the board.

Q What, if anything, do you know about Colonel North's role in steering the funds to the Contras? You knew he directed you to make the contributions to IBC.

A Right.

Q What, if any, role did you believe him to have, or did you know him to have, after that contribution was made to IBC?

A I didn't know specifically.

Q Did you ever talk to Rich Miller or anyone at IBC about what happened to the money after it went into IBC?

A We asked them to give us an accounting.

Q And never got that accounting, as I recall, until February of 1987.

A Right. Correct.

Q In the meantime, did you ever discuss what was happening to the money with IBC?

A No, not that I recall.

Q Did you ever discuss what was happening to the money with Colonel North?

A No.

Q Do you recall an incident where Mr. Hooper called and wanted to know how his money had been spent?

A Yes.

Q Do you recall contacting Colonel North to find out that information?

A No. What happened, Jane McLaughlin told me that Hooper called -- who did you say? Ralph Hooper?

Q I think it was Bruce Hooper.

A Well, one of the two. -- called and wanted to know how his money had been spent, and that message should be gotten to Ollie. I told Spitz, and that was the end of it, as far as I was concerned.

Q Were you ever aware of a representation being made to any contributor that if a certain amount of money as contributed to NEPL, a meeting between the contributor and President Reagan would be arranged?

A No.

Q Did you ever hear Mr. Channell discuss such an arrangement, such a possibility?

A Well, not in the way you are putting it. He discussed at what level they had to contribute before we would consider taking them in to see the President.

Q Do you recall what that level was?

A Well, it varied from time to time.

Q What did it vary from and to?

A Well, the highest it ever was, that I recall, was $250,000, and the lowest -- I don't really remember the low, something like $100,000. I don't remember exactly.

Q Do you ever recall the amount being pegged at

$300,000?

A I don't remember that.

Q Do you know if Mr. Channell ever made that representation to Edie Frazier?

A I have no knowledge.

Q Do you recall any discussions along those lines with Ms. Frazier?

A No.

Q There came a point, did there not. when you became NEPL's primary contact with Colonel North; is that fair to say?

A Yes.

Q You had much more contact with him than Mr. Channell did, as a matter of fact?

A Yes.

Q Mr. Channell would ask you to have Colonel North do things?

A Yes.

Q Why did that evolve in your direction as opposed to Mr. Channell's?

A Spitz said that I had an unusual relationship with Colonel North. I didn't know any better, and said, "Okay. Fine." So he said, "From now on, you need to handle all these things. He talks to you more than he talks to me."

Q So from then on, you were the one in charge, you were the liaison -- to use a hackneyed phrase -- with Colonel North; is that fair to say?

A Yes.

Q Can you describe your relationship with Colonel North? How often did you meet with him?

A Maybe a couple times a month. Sometimes more, sometimes less.

Q Did you speak to him on the phone at all?

A Occasionally. Not very often.

Q Other than the Newington weekend, did you ever meet his family?

A No.

Q Did you ever see him socially or outside of professional context?

A He came to a party with his wife once, in November.

Q Was it a NEPL function or a private party?

A It was a NEPL function.

Q Was that the election party?

A Yes, election party.

Q Other than that incident?

A Well, we would meet at the Hay Adams Hotel and usually have a drink or dinner, food or something.

Q But always with a professional overtone to it?

A Yes. I think once we left his office and he took me home in his truck, to my home and dropped me off.

Q There came a time in December of 1986 when the NEPL offices actually closed down; is that correct?

A Yes.

Q Why was that?

A We were concerned about security, and we were going to close anyway, so we just closed a little early.

Q What caused concern about security?

A Documents of ours were -- I don't know. I can't recall the timing of this, but they were either actually appearing in the press or parts from them were appearing in the press, or something.

Q Was that after the rift began to develop with Jane McLaughlin?

A No. Well, I mean there wasn't a rift until she announced it.

Q She worked up until the point where the offices were closed, did she not?

A Yes.

Q Did you go into the offices during the period of time they were closed?

A I don't think so. I might have, but I don't remember.

Q Do you know if anyone else went into the offices during the period of time they were closed?

A Maybe. I don't recall.

Q You have discussed changing the designation on the Toys account in some fashion.

A Yes.

Q Because you didn't feel that was representative of the contents of that account; is that fair to say?

A Right.

Q What was the content, what were the contents of that account?

A It was a mishmash, all sorts of things, all sorts of expenses.

Q Did it include direct assistance to the Contras?

A It may have. That, I don't know. I would have to look at the record to see. I mean we have two issues here. One is the income and the other is the expenses, and I would have to review what was put into that account and what was taken out and so on.

Q Was that the account into which direct assistance to the Contras was placed?

A I was given to understand that in some cases, that was so.

Q But not in all cases?

A But not in all cases.

Q Where else would direct assistance to the Contras go?

A In other accounts. As I said, it was a mishmash.

It never should have been done.

Q I believe you testified that the name was changed to something, and you didn't recall what; is that correct?

A Right.

Q Does CAFP-TV ring a bell?

A Yes. I mean that may be it.

Q Why was that designation chose?

A I didn't care what the designation was. I mean I just said, "Change it." I didn't care. I think he actually, Steve McMahon, proposed that name and I said, "That's fine. I don't care what you call it."

Q But if the purpose was that it was misnamed in the first place, why didn't you care what it was renamed to?

A Well, we had a little discussion about some alternative names. The reason I didn't care is because it was not the appropriate way that the money should be handled, so it was largely irrelevant what it was called, as far as I was concerned. You might call it the "Moon Account," for all I care, because it was not a rational setting up of an account, to begin with.

The only reason I wanted to change it from "Toys" is because that was coming out in the press that we were, in fact, using this to buy weapons with, and that wasn't its purpose. So we were getting lambasted for no reason. So I said, "Change the name."

Q When did that take place?

A I don't recall.

Q Was it before or after NEPL's offices closed over Christmas?

A I don't recall.

Q Was it during the time that NEPL's offices were closed?

A I don't recall.

Q Could it have been during that period of time?

A Yes, it could have been.

Q To your knowledge, were any accounting records, particularly accounting records, removed from NEPL's premises?

A Yes.

Q When and by whom?

A Well, I believe they were removed in December of 1986, and I forget who removed them.

Q Why were they removed?

A Because Linda Guell had told me that she had copies of all of our financial records, and we wanted our financial records to be secure. It was not other people's business. So we removed them to keep them safe.

Q Other than the designation on the Toys account, what, if any, changes were made in NEPL's financial records?

A I don't think any.

Q That was the sole change, to your knowledge, that was made in those records?

A Yes.

Q When was the last time you saw Colonel North?

A I am not sure.

Q Well, we have heard about a breakfast, a North appreciation breakfast on November 10th, 1986. Have you seen him since then?

A Not that I recall.

Q Have you spoken to him since then?

A Yes.

Q On what occasion?

A In December.

Q What was the occasion for that conversation?

A I wanted to get Fawn Hall's home phone number.

Q Where did you call him?

A At his attorney's office.

Q Did you speak to him directly?

A Yes.

Q What was the substance of the conversation?

A I said I wanted Fawn's phone number, and he gave it to me.

Q Did you have any other discussion with him at that time?

A He said he didn't want to have a substantive conversation, on the advice of his attorney, and I said,

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"Fine." I understood that.

Q The conversation ended at that point?

A Yes.

Q Why did you ask for Fawn Hall's home phone number?

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A Because I wanted to call her and assure her that we were still in her corner and would be helpful to her if we could possibly be.

Q Meaning what? What did you mean by "helpful"?

A If she needed anything, she was supposed to let us know.

Q Did you have that discussion with her?

A No.

Q Why not?

A Oh, the press of other matters.

Q Have you spoken to Fawn Hall since, say, November of 1986

A No.

Q Other than that one telephone conversation, to get Fawn Hall's telephone number from Colonel North, do you recall any other conversations with Colonel North since the breakfast on November 10th?

A No.

Q Have you spoken with Colonel North's attorney since that time?

A I don't think I talked with him. Not that I

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recall.

Q Brendon Sullivan and Barry Simon. You don't think you spoke with them?

A No.

Q There came a time when NEPL hired a public relations person by the name of Gerard Cameron, I believe.

A Yes. I mean Peter Hanaford.

Q Pardon me?

A Peter Hanaford is who we hired.

Q All right.

A And Gerard came along in the package.

Q All right. WHen was that done?

A I don't recall the time.

Q After the allegations about the Iran-Contra matter began to break in the press?

A Yes.

Q Why was that done?

A We wanted public relations counsel that wasn't tied in with us.

Q What do you mean by "public relations counsel"?

A Public relations counsel -- I don't know what else to say. A consultant, a consulting firm who were in the business of public relations.

Q Did you want somebody to field questions from the press for you?

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A Well, conceivably.

Q Did, in fact, they field press inquiries for you?

A Yes.

Q Did you discuss your activities with Colonel North with your public relations consultants?

A I did not.

Q Do you know if Mr. Channell did?

A I think he did.

Q Were you present when those discussions took place?

A No.

Q To your knowledge, were the public relations consultants advised of the nature of your solicitations for arms?

A I don't know.

Q Did you yourself make any statements to the press after the allegations began to emerge?

A No.

Q I have a few specific points that arose out of some of the documents.

A Only a few?

Q Only a few. Turn, if you would, -- this is a deposition exhibit -- to the to-do list of February 22, 1986.

A Page?

Q Page 2. There is a heading there, "Marty Artiano," and then a list of items, including "A. RR meetings," and then there is a list of people. And those are people that you wanted to try to schedule meetings with Ronald Reagan?

A Yes.

Q When you made those requests for meetings with Ronald Reagan, did you deal directly with David Fischer or did you deal with Marty Artiano?

A Well, they were a pair.

Q Did you treat them as fungible, approach either one of them, or did you deal more with Mr. Artiano or more with Mr. Fischer?

A I don't remember, really.

Q What I would like to explore for a minute is your perception of the relationship or with respect to the roles of Mr. Artiano and Mr. Fischer. Mr. Fischer was President Reagan's former Appointment Secretary --

A I understand he was his Personal Assistant.

Q Personal Assistant.

A That is not the same.

Q I am not sure of the exact title. At any rate, he was an assistant to President Reagan. Mr. Artiano had never worked in the White House; as best we understand, he had held various positions in the campaign and in the Administration. But as far as the White House itself was concerned, I don't believe he had worked there.

A I don't know. I thought he had, but I could be wrong.

Q I guess my question is, how did you perceive -- to whom did you go when you wanted to schedule such appointments, and why did you go there?

A Well, I mean we just had discussions, and we would normally solve them together, and we said, "We want --" Marty was the person who acted in charge.

Q That is kind of what I want to develop. You say Mr. Artiano acted like he was in charge; could you elaborate on that a little bit?

A Well, he was the one with whom you discussed the business arrangement, for example. David usually didn't say very much, and Marty would extemporize at the drop of a hat, and so on. So he was just the leading person. I don't know how to explain it. It is perfectly obvious when you see the two of them together. But they were normally together when we would put our requests in.

Q So when it came to negotiating business arrangements or having discussions about fees and that sort of thing, Mr. Artiano would have been the dominant person as between the two of them; is that fair to say?

A Yes.

Q Tell me a little bit, if you would, about your contact with Rob Owen. When did you first meet him?

A At the breakfast on November [illegible]th, 1986.

Q Had you had contact with him before then?

A I had reached him by telephone in, I think, the Summer of 1985 in error. I was looking for someone else and he answered the phone.

Q What, if any, relationship did you understand him to have with Colonel North?

A I didn't know anything about his relationship with Colonel North.

Q I notice on -- I am not sure which deposition exhibit this is -- Exhibit 11.

MR. OLIVER: Mr. Conrad, you said that you had called, looking for someone else, and he answered the phone. Who is that someone else that you were looking for, and where was this phone, if you recall?

THE WITNESS: The man's name is Wesley Smith who I was looking for, and he worked for Rob Owen. I knew that, and he said, "If you want to reach me, call me here in the daytime. And if I am not here, the message machine will be on." One time I called and Rob himself answered.

MR. OLIVER: When was that phone call?

THE WITNESS: I think in June or July of 1985. He took a message, and that was the end of it. I mean it was not a lengthy conversation.

BY MR. McGOUGH:

Q My question on this exhibit is the message in the lower left-hand corner. It lists the attendees at the meeting of November 6th as "North, Terry Arnold, Neil Livingston, CRC, Dan, Rob." Would you have recognized that as a reference to Rob Owen?

A No.

Q Would Mr. Channell have recognized that as a reference to Rob Owen?

A I don't have any idea.

Q Do you know what, if any contact, Mr. Channell had with Rob Owen?

A I have no idea.

Q I don't think we have to turn to the document, but there is a note written on the back of an agenda, referring to multi-frequency radios and 50 SAM missiles. I think you probably remember that.

A Yes.

Q You said that was taken during a meeting with Colonel North sometime around November 18th, 1985, which was the agenda thereof. Was anyone else present at the meeting when that note was taken?

A No.

Q At the time that note was taken, was Colonel North aware that you were going to use this information to solicit funds?

A No.

Q What did you tell him? Why did he give you the information?

A Just simple information. He had these radios -- how much SAM missiles cost and how much the multi-band frequency radios cost.

Q I think you said that he had mentioned these things.

A In the course of his briefing, yes.

Q And Mr. Channell asked you to find out how much they cost.

A Yes. I mean, so it was a simple information exchange.

Q You mentioned that you saw but did not meet Barbara Studley, I think, at the Hay Adams Hotel.

A Yes. Right.

Q Can you tell me what that was all about; how you saw her and didn't meet her, and when?

A Colonel North and I were sitting at a table. I don't remember if we were drinking or eating or what, and I don't remember who else was there or, indeed, if there was anyone else there. But he was distracted from our conversation by seeing who she was, and he got up and greeted her, and walked over a little ways, greeted her, and chatted for a little while and then came back.

I said, "Who's that?" words to that effect, and he said, "Oh, that is Barbara Studley. She is one of Singlaub's big contributors, or maybe even said, "her biggest contributor," I don't know. I said, "Oh, that is interesting," and I immediately wrote down the name.

Q There came a time when you -- and I believe it starts in early 1986 -- have notes in your to-do list, "Green shopping list," and "Get new Green shopping list by Monday," and that is circled, with dashes by it.

A Paramecium all around it. That is right

Q And I think you said -- correct me if I am wrong -- that you were relaying this request to Colonel North.

A Yes.

Q And saying, "Would you please get us this list?L"

A Yes.

Q Did Colonel North ever say, "No, I am not going to give you that list" or did he just never produce it?

A He just never produced it.

Q Did he ever say he would produce would produce the list?

A Oh, he always promised he would produce it.

Q and just never did?

A Yes.

Q Let's talk for a moment about Mr. Harper and the referral from Secretary Shultz. What do you know about the mechanism -- I mean tell me what you know about how it worked. Did Secretary Shultz tell this to Colonel North?

A I don't know. Colonel North raised the subject with me and said, as I have said before, he encountered this contributor in a setting which was not made clear to me.

Q "He" being Secretary Shultz?

A Yes. I don't even know how it got filtered down to us but, anyway, we were alerted. Colonel North said, "Be on the alert because this person is going to call."

Q You don't know when or where, or the actual contact between Secretary Shultz --

A No, I don't remember. I mean -- I am sorry. NOt that I don't remember; I wasn't told.

Q There was a series of questions asked by Mr. Fryman about an entry referring to a trip you wanted to take with Elliott Abrams to California, "CA."

A Yes.

Q for fundraising purposes.

A Yes.

Q You testified that that trip never occurred.

A Yes.

Q Did you ever discuss that trip with Mr. Abrams?

A No.

Q Was this just something you wanted to do and never broached with him?

A I never did.

Q To your knowledge, did anyone discuss the trip with

Mr. Abrams?

A Maybe; I don't know.

Q Turning to Exhibit 9, which are the handwritten notes; these are the notes dated June 3rd, 1986.

A Wait, I can't find it.

Q June 3rd, 1986. It is almost midpoint.

A Okay. I have got it.

Q Four lines up from the bottom, "Send to-do list to Rich and David."

A Yes.

Q What is that a reference to?

A They are getting out of control.

Q "Rich" being Rich Miller?

A Yes.

Q And "David" being David Fischer?

A Yes. And they are not accomplishing all the things that they need to accomplish, and so I began to make up to-do lists for them. This is my crusade, to organize the world.

Q Would these be the same to-do lists you were producing for yourself or would they be particularized ones, directed to them?

A They would be subsets of my own list.

Q So you wouldn't just send them your entire list?

A Oh, absolutely not.

Q On the next page, July 14th, 1986, there is the reference to "Green weekend in Connecticut and Barbara Newington." I would like you to tell me whether you recall, during Colonel North's visit with Mrs. Newington, any discussion of, quote, "business," closed quote; that is, any discussion or solicitation, or any discussion of Nicaragua, any solicitation for money.

A Well, we all sat around a table. Ollie talked about Nicaragua and what was currently happening there. As I recall, there was no solicitation at that time. But I think one did occur, but I don't recall the specifics of it.

Q To you recall whether Colonel North initiated the discussion of Nicaragua or whether someone else did?

A Oh, I think Spitz was playing ringmaster.

Q Meaning that you believe he initiated the discussion of Nicaragua?

A Yes.

Q Was Colonel North's family present when that discussion took place?

A They were out at the pool.

Q Do you recall who was present?

A Rich Miller, Spitz Channell, myself, Oliver North, Mrs. Newington.

Q How long did the discussion last, if you can recall?

A Not very long; half an hour.

Q In that half hour, was the topic of discussion the

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current situation in Nicaragua?

A As I recall.

Q When you say, "around the table," was that inside or outside?

A Inside.

MR. McGOUGH: Off the record for a second.

[Brief discussion off the record.]

MR. McGOUGH: Back on the record.

BY MR. McGOUGH:

Q Mr. Conrad, you discussed with Mr. Fryman a request by Mrs. Garwood's attorney to send a letter to her, indicating that the purpose for her contributions were humanitarian. I think if you want to refresh your recollection, there is a note, dated October 3rd, 1986, that reads, "Letter to Ellen's attorneys, food, medical supplies, transportation, logistical support, ambulance services."

Am I correct in my summary that this was a request from her attorneys for a letter saying, essentially, that her contributions were used for humanitarian purposes; is that right?

A Yes.

Q I think you said that was one of the things you never go to; that as far as you recall, you did not -- at least to your knowledge, you never sent that letter out.

A Right.

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Q At the time you made this note, you were aware, were you not, that Mrs. Garwood had, in fact, been solicited for arms?

A I don't know if I knew that or not.

Q This is October 3rd of 1986. I believe we have had testimony that the list that Colonel North gave her, in the cocktail lounge, was in April or May of 1986. I believe you indicated that Mr. Channell told you, more or less contemporaneously, --

A Oh, that is right. I forgot about that.

Q -- that this list had been given to her; is that right?

A Yes.

Q So you were aware, in October of 1986, that she had been solicited for things other than food, medical supplies, transportation, logistic support and ambulance services, were you not?

A But I believe the question was, "What had her contributions gone for?" which is a different question than "What had she been solicited for?"

Q All right. Drawing that distinction, were you aware at that point that it had gone for food, medical supplies, transportation, logistical support and ambulance services?

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A We were assuming, because of the fact that we had no evidence to the contrary, that it had gone for humanitarian aid, and this was just an elaboration of the items of humanitarian aid.

Q You say you had no evidence to the contrary, but you had no evidence to the affirmative either, did you?

A True.

Q In other words, you didn't know and, in the fungible-funds theory, it could just as easily have gone to arms as to these items; is that not right?

A Well, in the fungible-money concept, it could have gone for anything.

Q I understand. But here is an attorney contacting you and saying, "What was her money used for?" and you were aware, certainly by October of 1986, of the important distinction between money going for arms and money going for humanitarian purposes, were you not?

A yes.

Q And the attorney wanted assurances, did he not, that her money had been used for humanitarian purposes, is that right?

A Yes.

Q And what you had on your hands, at that point, was really no evidence one way or the other as to whether her money had gone to humanitarian purposes; is that right?

A That is correct.

Q And, yet, you were willing to make the representation to this attorney that the money had, in fact, gone for humanitarian purposes.

A Well, we didn't.

Q You didn't; but you were willing, at that time, to make it.

A Well, I don't know how willing, if you didn't do it. What is "willing"?

Q Did you raise that with Mr. Channell at the time?

A No.

Q I believe you said that Mr. Channell wanted you to send this letter to Mrs. Garwood's attorneys --

A Yes.

Q -- and that is why you have a note.

A Yes.

Q Did you say to Mr. Channell, "No, I won't do that"?

A No.

Q Why not?

A Why didn't I say I wouldn't?

Q Did you say you would do it?

A I didn't say. I said, "Thank you," and wrote the note.

Q Did you make a conscious decision not to send the letter?

A No. Just got lost in the shuffle.

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Q But it was something you were certainly willing to do?

A Well, I would have drafted something, sure.

Q Did it bother you that Mr. Channell was asking you to write that letter?

A No.

Q Did you believe that a letter of that kind would have been misleading?

A Well, as I never wrote it, it is conjectural, at best.

Q At best. Let's take a look at your notes of October 20th, 1986, and there is the category "NEPL." These are written, I think you said, as of October 20, 1986; is that right?

A Yes.

Q Under "NEPL," Item A is "Organize and administer Central American Freedom Program, November '86 to March '87." That is your task for that period of time; I mean that is the period of time during which you are going to do "A," is that fair to say?

A Yes.

Q A projection?

A Yes.

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Q "B" is "Organize and administer Nicaraguan Humanitarian Aid Program, April '87 through December '87." First of all, what is the "Nicaraguan Humanitarian Aid Program"?

A It is direct aid to the Freedom Fighters.

Q Why do you call it "Nicaraguan Humanitarian Aid Program?"

A I don't know; just the way we did it.

Q Up to this point we have been discussing, as we said, fungible money, and can we agree that humanitarian aid was, perhaps, one aspect of fungible money, but not the only aspect of fungible money?

A Yes. You then have "April '87 through December of '87." Why the six-month hiatus in the Nicaraguan Humanitarian Aid Program?

A I think because we thought that we wouldn't need any more until Congress -- until the humanitarian aid that had been allocated to the Freedom Fighters would expire, which I think is the Spring of 1987.

Q I think the humanitarian aid expired the Spring of 1986, and I think in the Fall of 1986 the Contras were looking at $100 million in assistance that would carry them through Fiscal Year 1986.

A Okay.

Q Does that refresh your recollection?

A Anyway, we felt that they didn't need it, is our basic point.

Q But you felt they would need it in April of 1987?

A Well, we were going to reexamine the situation then.

Q I notice A, C and D all really call for programs to begin the next month, that is November of 1986; is that fair to say?

A Yes.

Q And that of the four NEPL projects, the only one that is going to be postponed for six months is the, quote, "Humanitarian Aid Program."

A Yes.

Q Do you recall when the Hasenfus plane was shot down in Nicaragua, when Mr. Hasenfus was captured by the Sandinistas?

A I remember the incident but I don't remember when it occurred.

Q As a point of reference, let's put it in early October 1986.

A Wonderful.

Q Were you concerned, when the Hasenfus incident occurred, about the security of your own program?

A No.

Q Up until that time, you had been raising money, had you not, for heavy lifting and air drops?

A Yes.

Q Did you make any inquiries to determine whether the Hasenfus airplane was one of the planes that might have been

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associated with your direct assistance?

A No.

Q Were you concerned that it might have been?

A No.

Q Were there any discussions of that possibility?

A No.

Q In late October of 1986, were you beginning to have reservations about whether your direct assistance to the Contras would remain a confidential much longer?

A No.

Q Turn if you would to -- I am not sure what the page is, but it is a portion of these giver breakdowns that you have.

MR. OLIVER: What is the number?

MR. McGOUGH: It is Control Number 33327.

MR. OLIVER: It is in the handwritten notes?

MR. McGOUGH: Yes.

THE WITNESS: I have it.

BY MR. McGOUGH:

Q I believe you have identified that as Jane McLaughlin's handwriting?

A Yes.

Q And it is the first of several pages, her breakdown there. Was this given to you, do you know?

A (Witness peruses document.)

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Probably it was. Yes, I think it all was, yes. The only thing I looked at was the next page.

Q The last page, or 33328?

A Yes.

Q The bottom entry has the entry "Toys" on the page that I have referenced, that is 33327.

A Right.

Q What did you understand that to be a reference to?

A As I said, I don't recall ever having seen this page before. I am sure I was given it in the package, but the only one I paid any attention was the next page, which was the summary of the whole thing.

Q Would you have understood that, at the time, to be a reference to direct assistance to the Contras?

A I don't know. I don't know whether I would have or not.

Q Flip back about six pages to 35090, and it is the one that says, "IBC fees received from ACT and NEPL."

A (Witness peruses documents.)

Q "IBC fees received from ACT and NEPL." There is the entry "6/19 Palmer Wire contribution, $130,000." I believe you testified yesterday that you thought this was 1985.

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A Yes.

Q Correct me if I am wrong, but either you or

Mr. Channell has told us that at a dinner on July 9th, 1985, Colonel North told you that henceforth, your direct aid to the Contras should be passed to IBC.

A Yes.

Q The June 19th contribution, Palmer Wire, for $130,000, do you know how that came about?

A I have no idea.

Q It is about three weeks before the July 9th dinner.

A I don't know.

Q Do you recall that contribution?

A I think it was from Barbara Newington, but I don't know any more about it.

Q Do you know if it was passed on to IBC?

A I don't know.

Q to your knowledge, were any of the direct aid contributions made through IBC prior to July 9th, 1985?

A Say that again; I am sorry.

Q To your knowledge, were any of the direct aid contributions for the Contras made through IBC prior to your dinner with Colonel North, or your dinner at the Hay Adams, on July 9th, 1985?

A I don't know.

Q What time of day did the meeting at the Hay Adams take place on July 9th? Was it a dinner, a lunch, a breakfast? Was there a meal associated with it?

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A There was dark beer associated with it. It was an evening meeting, early evening, as I recall.

Q Mr. Conrad, you have also been immunized by the Independent Counsel; is that correct?

MS. LUBIN: Can we hold on that one?

MR. McGOUGH: I thought I would put it on the record. Just for the record, this is a matter that counsel have discussed. My intention is to inquire into Mr. Conrad's status with the Independent Counsel and any agreements that might be outstanding with the Independent Counsel regarding Mr. Conrad's testimony.

I would agree to hold on it, with the understanding that we will get, preferably in writing, some indication of your position on it, preferably a response that you will tell us what his status is, an indication of that status.

MS. LUBIN: Okay.

MR. McGOUGH: Those are the only questions that I have.

Shall we adjourn for lunch until 2:00 o'clock?

[Whereupon, a luncheon recess was taken.]

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T3S1

AFTERNOON SESSION

MR. McGOUGH: Back on the record.

BY MR. McGOUGH:

Q Mr. Conrad, did the NEPL staff have meetings? In particular, were there briefings for the fundraisers for NEPL, given by Mr. Channell?

A I would say yes.

Q At those briefings, did he discuss strategies for fundraising and approaches that might be made to contributors?

A Yes.

Q How often were those meeting held?

A As needed. Frequently.

Q Were they once a month, more frequently, less frequently than that?

A It is whatever the occasion arose. I never kept track of it.

Q Did you ever hear Mr. Channell refer to the targeted contributors as "political crazies"?

A Not that I recall.

Q Were these fundraiser meetings ever recorded?

A Occasionally.

Q Were they ever transcribed?

A They might have been. I don't remember.

MR. McGOUGH: Let me have this marked as an exhibit; it is two pages.

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(The document referred to was marked for identification as Conrad Deposition Exhibit 12.)

BY MR. McGOUGH:

Q Mr. Conrad, take a look at Exhibit 12, which is a two-page exhibit, entitled "Fund Raisers Meeting-May 23, 1986.

A Do I need to read the whole thing?

Q Well, my question to you is going to be, have you ever seen it before?

A Not that I recall.

Q All right. Then you may have to read the whole thing. What I want to ask you, really, is whether you attended a meeting at which these statements were made?

A Okay. We might go off the record while I read it.

[Briefly off the record]

MR. McGOUGH: Back on the record.

BY MR. McGOUGH:

Q We are referring to Exhibit 12, with the control numbers A0036710 and A0036711. Have you ever seen this document before?

A I don't recall whether I have seen it or not.

Q Having reviewed it while we were off the record, do you recall being in a meeting where this pitch or discussion, presentation, was made?

A I believe I do recall the situation under which

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this was discussed.

Q Could you tell me what that situation was?

A Well, we were at a restaurant, and Spitz and all the fundraisers and myself were there, and this was the discussion. I don't know who made the transcript.

Q Do you know who recorded it?

A I can't recall.

Q Could it have been you? I mean you recorded the Ramsey dinner. Might you have recorded it?

A It is possible. I just don't remember, at the moment, who did.

Q Do you know why a transcript or why a recording was made?

A Oh, just for instructional purposes. In other words, so that everybody didn't have to take notes.

Q As best you can recall, is this an accurate transcript of the presentation that was made at the meeting?

A Yes.

Q By whom was the presentation made?

A Well, that represents several people discussing. It was kind of a round-table discussion, it is not identified who.

Q Who the individual speakers?

A Yes.

Q Was Mr. Channell one of the speakers?

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A Yes.

Q Were you one of the speakers?

A Well, it is possible. I don't remember.

Q Refer, if you will, to the second page near the bottom, where we have the third or fourth sentence in the last paragraph, "But the impact of saying to someone like Harry Lucas, Barbara Newington or Ellen Garwood or Mel Salwasser, or Salvatori, or innumerable political crazies, is that we are going to give you an opportunity to give $30,000 tax deductible political contribution and we want to tell you how to do it."

MS. LUBIN: May I interrupt at this point.

MR. McGOUGH: Sure.

MS. LUBIN: I would like to defer this line of questioning, pursuant to our agreement. I let you go to this point to identify the document and the circumstances under which it was issued. I have read the document. It does not pertain in any way to Nicaragua, that I have seen.

MR. McGOUGH: It certainly pertains to some of the contributors to Nicaragua.

MS. LUBIN: I understand. They also contributed to other programs. I am not suggesting that we may ultimately refuse to answer the question, but pursuant to our earlier agreement I would like to move it back.

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BY MR. McGOUGH:

Q Let me finish my question, and that is, do you know who made that statement?

A No.

MR. McGOUGH: I don't have any further questions. I will defer to Mr. Oliver.

MS. LUBIN: Spencer, would you just give me your formal title.

MR. OLIVER: My name is Spencer Oliver. I am the Chief Counsel to the House Foreign Affairs Committee and a member of the Associate Staff to the House Select Investigative Committee.

MS. LUBIN: Thank you.

EXAMINATION BY COUNSEL FOR THE

HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE

BY MR. OLIVER:

Q Mr. Conrad, it has been a couple of weeks since we started this deposition. I would like, if I could, to go back just a little bit to the beginning of your association with the Channell organizations to put us back in the context. Then what I want to do is to go through some of these documents, where I have put marks in the book, to follow up on some of the questions that Mr. Fryman asked. I will try to be as brief as possible.

You came to work on a full time basis for Mr.

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Channell in January or February of 1985 as a consultant; is that correct?

A No.

Q When did you begin to work full time for Mr. Channell? I know you were a full time consultant for a number of months.

A March 6th.

Q March 6th. And that was to primarily work on the Nicaraguan Refugee Fund dinner?

A Yes.

Q What exactly did you do, in your full time capacity, between March 6th and the Nicaraguan Refugee Fund dinner in that period of time? I guess it was about six weeks or something.

A Do you want to be more specific?

Q Well, you were paid, I think you said, $5,000 a month or $1,500 a day. I guess the $1,500 a day was in your previous association as a consultant in 1983 when you did about a week of consulting.

A Yes.

Q You came back to Washington, at his request, in March of 1985 to work on this dinner.

A Yes.

Q But my question is, what did you do on that dinner? I mean what was your responsibility during that period of

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time, between March 6th and the dinner that you were brought back to work on?

A Well, I don't know exactly how to answer the question. But I was a consultant to Miner and Frazier, and I was a consultant to the Nicaraguan Refugee Fund and I was a consultant to the Channell organizations.

Q You were compensated by all three?

A Yes.

Q How was that compensation divided?

A Rather arbitrarily.

Q Who decided? Did you bill each one of them?

A No. Spitz just gave me some money -- I don't remember how much, I would have to look and see.

Q Cash?

A A check. Miner and Frazier gave me some money, but it was at Spitz' request, and Nicaraguan Refugee Fund decided to hire me separately, and we had an agreement which covered that.

Q What did you do for the Nicaraguan Refugee Fund that decided to hire you, as distinguished from what you did for Spitz Channell and for Miner and Frazier?

A Well, it was all very similar. Basically, -- I don't know how you would call it -- making sure that all the phone calls got made and follow-up calls were made, and that the money got in when it was supposed to get in, give people advice who were talking on the telephone to people, make sure the letters got out. Just general coordination.

Q Was your office in one particular place?

A It was mostly at Miner and Frazier.

Q Is that where the people were making phone calls from? Were there phone banks?

A There were several places where they were making phone calls.

Q Did you supervise these phone callers, sort of manage this operation?

A In a way. I mean not in a sense of standing over them immediately to find if each one was on the phone. I mean not minute by minute.

Q I see. But were you sort of the manager of the fundraising activities of these three groups?

A Well, you could describe it that way. I don't know how else to describe it. I didn't have an official title.

Q I understand. At the end of the day or at the end of the week, or periodically, did you evaluate the work of these fundraisers?

A Oh, sure. I was evaluating it all the time.

Q Did they give you daily reports, or weekly reports?

A Daily reports.

Q Daily reports. Those daily reports consisted of what?

A You mean what form?

Q Yes. Was it written?

A I think of it was written and some of it was verbal.

Q Verbal. So you would then work with them to develop their pitch and the way they interacted with the people they were talking to on the phone?

A Yes.

Q Because you were the pro, you were the professional who was in there to make sure this was done right?

A That is right.

Q Then after this Nicaraguan Refugee Fund dinner was over, what then was your relationship with these three organizations?

A Well, it ended with Miner and Frazier, and it ended with the Nicaraguan Refugee Fund, and it continued with the Channell organizations.

Q As a full time consultant?

A Yes.

Q That continued for another three or four months before you became a full time employee, or five months, to the Fall, I think, of 1985?

A Well, it was never clear. I mean there isn't a point at which I can say I became a full time employee.

Q After the Nicaraguan Refugee Fund dinner was over and the money had been raised and the phone calling and solicitation was over, what did you do then for Mr. Channell? Now this project is over, what did you do next?

A Well, the best way I know how to explain it is that I was asked to stay on to help coordinate activities, to help in the Channell projects, whatever they happened to be.

Q I think you testified earlier that at some point you became the Executive Director of all the Channell organizations.

A Yes.

Q And you said that you were responsible for the administration of these organizations.

A Yes.

Q When you say, "the administration," what did that include? What was your job? You described your job earlier as the "Number Two Man" in all of his organizations. As an administrator and a pro, as a fundraiser, what was your daily activity like, your responsibilities?

A Well, I was basically in charge of seeing that all of the program activities that we had started were completed, which includes staffing and supervising of personnel, setting up systems and so on.

Q So the to-do lists that we have gone over during this deposition were basically your responsibilities to manage and to execute?

A Yes.

Q So if something went on your list as "to do," it would be something that you would have the responsibility to follow through on, or to ask somebody else to follow through on; is that correct?

A Yes.

Q How did things get on your to-do lists?

A Spitz would tell me. On the odd occasion, I might put something on myself, but very seldom.

Q And then you would remind Spitz, or you would then say to one of the other staff people, "Have you done this yet?" or "Are you doing this?" or "Do you need any help on this?" or whatever the case might be?

A Yes. Well, in general, we had too much to do, far too much to do, ten times as much to do as any human being could possibly do, and that is why we kept a to-do list. It was to remind us, when we had the odd spare moment, that we could begin working on this or that.

Q Did everybody report through you to Spitz?

A Well, that is how it was supposed to work.

Q But it did not work that way?

A Right.

Q Why didn't it work that way?

A Because Spitz would often go directly to the person.

Q But you did have some management responsibility for all of the employees?

A Yes.

Q Including the bookkeepers and the accountants?

A Yes.

Q So you had a general familiarity with all aspects of Spitz Channell's operations?

A Yes.

Q And you had a responsibility for seeing to it that all these operations went smoothly?

A Yes.

Q All these operations were housed in one office?

A Yes.

Q And there were overlapping boards of directors for each of these corporations?

A Yes.

Q Did the same people sign checks for each one of these organizations? Who had check-signing authority?

A Well, it depends on which time you are talking about.

Q Well, let's say in November of 1985.

A Well, there is some overlap, and I would have to look at which signature cards were enforced then as to who was able to sign on which accounts to be able to answer your question. Because I mean there are 11 organizations, and it changed all the time and I can't keep all that in my head.

Q You know, I have 10 organizations on my list. Are you counting Grow Washington as one of those eleven?

A Yes.

Q That answers my question because I didn't have them on my list. My understanding is no money ever actually went into the Grow Washington account; is that correct?

A I think there was $100.

Q But it was never really an active account?

A No, it wasn't. But my point is that there are a lot of organizations and there is a lot of time period that we are covering, and I can't keep this all straight.

Q Sure. Did Spitz Channell have check-signing authority for all of the accounts?

A Most of the time.

Q Did you have check-signing authority for all of the accounts?

A No.

Q Which accounts did you not have check-signing authority for?

A I would have to look.

Q If I name them, will you know whether you had it?

A No. I have to look at a list. I mean I would go to the accountant -- I was frequently asking the accountants, "Am I authorized to sign on this account?" They were the ones that told me.

Q But the accountants reported to you?

A Yes.

Q And you were the management person?

A Yes.

Q And they asked you which accounts you signed on?

A No, no. I would ask them which accounts I signed on. Spitz would say, "Please have a check written to so and so on this account," and he might tell them in Accounting, without telling me. So then they would come to me and present a check for me to sign, and I would question them, often, "Am I authorized to sign on this account?" "Who authorized the check to be drawn?" "Spitz." "Fine." I sign the check.

Q This was a fairly small group of people. Who else had check-signing authority, besides you and Spitz, on any account, of the group of people that were there?

A Well, Cliff Smith. I don't remember who else.

Q Is it possible it was just Cliff Smith, you and Spitz Channell?

A It is possible.

Q It was the senior members of the group?

A Yes, but it changed over time. You are asking me specifics when all you have to do is go to the Accounting Department and they can tell you exactly. I don't know.

Q After you became the Executive Director of all Spitz Channell's organizations, did you continue to supervise the fundraisers in the same way that you had for the Nicaraguan Refugee Fund, where you are still the professional fundraiser and you still sort of oversee what they do, evaluate their work, give them suggestions, that sort of thing?

A From time to time, yes.

Q Was that your responsibility to sort of see to it that their work was going along?

A Well, I was not the only one who had that responsibility.

Q Who else had that responsibility?

A Spitz Channell.

Q You and Spitz Channell?

A Yes.

Q So the fundraisers reported either to both of you, or one of you, and if they had a problem they came to one of you?

A Yes.

Q And you sort of gave them direction in terms of what they were going to raise money for this week and what they were going to raise money for next week?

A Well, in that particular instance, it wouldn't be me; it would be Spitz.

Q So Spitz would decide, "This week we are going to raise money for X, and this is the pitch that I want you to give, that I think will work"?

A Yes.

Q You would work that out, and then they would go back to their offices and they would get on the phone and start making that pitch to your list of donors?

A Yes.

Q Were most of the donors that you worked with, donors that you had developed over a period of time?

A Me, personally?

Q The Channell fundraising organization.

A Well, yes, I guess.

Q Did you make very many cold calls?

A Oh, quite a number.

Q How did you get those lists?

A We must have at least, at least 100 different lists in our files.

Q So you collected lists like any professional fundraising organization; if there is a good list and you know you can get ahold of it, you got it, you tried to figure out a pitch that would work on this list. And if you figured out a pitch, you gave your fundraisers that list, and they would go after it?

A Yes.

Q Did Spitz Channell's organizations sort of specialize, once they located a donor, in developing that donor and increasing their giving -- not necessarily capacity, but the size of their donations?

A Did I do what?

Q Did they sort of specialize in the development of donors, from being small givers to big givers?

A Yes.

Q And keeping them involved with your organization?

A Yes.

Q It appears, from what we have seen, that that was really your specialty, was to find a donor who was a deep pocket and treat them very nicely and bring them along, and get them involved and do whatever you could to really make them want to give any time you asked.

A This is the specialty of all professional fund-raisers, or should be. Let's put it that way.

Q Certainly, in your case, it worked very well with a number of these donors.

How did you go about doing that for Spitz? Let's take, for example, Barbara Newington. How would you develop her as a donor, to want to get her to give even more money? What would you do? What was your sort of technique?

A I really don't know how to quite answer that, because it is not a theoretical construct. You deal with each case on its own merits and each individual, and it is a marrying between the individual and the cause and the organization, and the relationship that the individual fundraiser has with the individual contributor. So it is a combination of multiple factors.

Q Earlier in this deposition, we looked at handwritten notes, at an evaluation of what was the most effective tool for your givers. And generally, -- I think there were several people evaluated, and they thought the most effective tool was Green, being the code name for Oliver North; is that correct.

A Yes. They were wrong.

Q They were wrong. What was the most effective tool?

A Well, as it turned out, as I said previously, the most effective tool was, to generalize from Colonel North and Presidential meetings, was meeting in general. In other words, to bring people -- to ask people to come to a meeting was far preferable to calling them on the phone and asking them for a contribution.

Q Particularly, if that meeting could be in the White House?

A Yes. However, there is substantive data, from other types of organizations, that it did not make a difference whether it was in the White House or not. That is the danger of looking at these statistics, is that -- that is all the data that we had to go on, and we dealt with such few people that it is very difficult to generalize.

Q You dealt with a small universe of givers, several of whom met with the President and several of whom attended meetings in the White House; is that correct?

A Yes.

Q Other than the meetings in the White House and the meetings and dinners at the Hay Adams, across the street, where else did meetings of these people take place in Washington?

A I don't believe there were any other meetings.

Q So the general pattern was a meeting in the White House, followed by a dinner at the Hay Adams across the street?

A Yes.

Q And this is what attracted these people, time and time again?

A Well, the only point I am trying to make to you is that from the experience of other organizations, I know that it is not necessary to have only meetings in the White House, in order to get this same kind of results. Meetings, in general, for any organization, a hospital, a university, or whatever, is a very good technique for getting contributors to become involved with the organization.

As a matter of fact, we discovered, through our analysis, that the meetings with Ronald Reagan weren't as productive as the meetings with Oliver North. So it is important that you understand that -- I mean even the fundraisers didn't understand this, that the meetings were the most important thing, not where they were or who was in charge of them.

Q But I was just trying to establish that in this particular instance, for the Channell organizations, for these big givers, the meetings took place either in the White House or at the Hay Adams Hotel?

A Yes.

Q Barbara Newington, according to our records, or at least the records that I have, gave something like $3,800,000-plus dollars to the Channell organizations in 1985 and 1986. Does that figure generally strike you as being correct?

A No. I think it is wrong, by a big amount.

Q She gave more or less?

A Less. But I don't know that for a fact. I would have to check the records. It doesn't strike me as correct.

Q How much money do you think, in a general ball park figure, -- I know you don't know specifically -- how much money do you think Barbara Newington gave?

A Probably around a little below $2 million.

Q In 1985 and 1986?

A Yes.

Q How much money do you think Ellen Garwood gave in 1985 and 1986, approximately?

A I think more than that, like $2.5 million. I am not sure exactly. I would have to look.

Q But these people, people like Newington and Garwood, were sort of your main contributors, that you developed over a period of time?

A Yes.

Q And as you developed these people, you looked for or noted a propensity or proclivity to give money to the cause of the Contras in Central America, a willingness to give to the point that you thought they could be approached to make direct contributions to the Contras for military equipment; is that correct?

A Yes.

Q Then when you decided to bring them to that stage of giving, usually the method involved was a one-on-one meeting with Ollie North or a one-on-two meeting with the giver and Spitz and Ollie North, a small meeting where this approach would be made; is that correct?

A Yes.

Q Was it usually Spitz and Ollie North who would be present when this pitch was made?

A Usually Ollie North -- as a matter of fact, I think Ollie North was never present; only Spitz Channell and the contributor.

Q But usually, that is when the pitch was made?

Usually, that took place after a meeting with Ollie North; is that correct?

A Yes.

Q Are you aware of the breadth of Mrs. Newington's contributions to the Channell organizations?

A Well, dazzle me with figures.

Q Well, she gave money to the National Endowment for the Preservation of Liberty; is that correct?

A I believe so, yes.

Q She gave money to the Western Goals Foundation; is that correct?

A Yes.

Q She gave money to the Western Goals Endowment; is that correct?

A Yes.

Q She gave money to Sentinel; is that correct?

A Yes.

Q She gave money to the ATAC Federal Election Fund; is that correct?

A I would have to check.

Q She gave money to the ATAC State Election Fund; is that correct?

A I would have to check.

Q She gave money to the American Conservative Trust State Election Fund; is that correct?

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A I would have to check.

Q She gave money to the American Conservative Foundation; is that correct?

A I would have to check.

Q Well, my indication is that she did, but you can check the figures.

A Fine. I mean it doesn't surprise me.

Q But the same thing was true, to a large extent, for the other big givers, Garwood, King, Hunt, Warm; they gave to more than one of the Channell entities; is that correct?

A Yes.

Q So you had developed these donors, and you could pretty much direct where you wanted their contributions to go; is that correct?

MS. LUBIN: When you say "you," would you clarify?

MR. OLIVER: I mean you could call them up and --

MS. LUBIN: "You," Dan Conrad, would call them up?

MR. OLIVER: "You," a representative of the Channell organizations --

MS. LUBIN: Are you speaking of Dan Conrad or are you speaking of the Channell organizations generally, or fundraisers? I am just trying to figure out what you are talking about.

MR. OLIVER: A representative of the Channell organization.

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THE WITNESS: Any representative?

BY MR. OLIVER:

Q Who worked with them, could call them up and say, "We need money for X this week," and then next week they could call them up and say, "We need money for Y"?

A Yes.

Q Once they had reached that point of being a regular and repeat contributor. So was sort of an overlapping of not only the components of the organizations they gave to, but there was also an overlapping of your responsibilities and the responsibilities of the other Channell employees with all of the Channell organizations; is that correct/

A Yes.

Q These meetings that were held at the White House were all arranged through IBC and/or David Fischer and Marty Artiano?

A Or Oliver North.

Q Or Oliver North. If you could go directly to Oliver North and set up one of these meetings, why were you paying so much money to Marty Artiano and David Fisher?

A Well, it depends on which meetings you are talking about.

Q Well, I am talking about White House meetings or briefings. If Oliver North could do it, a person who dealt directly with, had a friendly relationship with, why would

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you pay somebody $480,000 to set up meetings at the White House that you could do yourself?

A Well, that wasn't their only responsibility.

Q What were their other responsibilities?

A Who?

Q David Fischer.

A He arranged different meetings with all kinds of different people.

Q For instance, who were some of the people he arranged meetings with?

A I am blanking at the moment which ones, but I mean all you have to do is look on the to-do lists and there is a great listing of the number of different activities he was asked to participate in. Introductions and meetings were only a part of that.

Q You testified earlier, I believe, that the Channell organizations, through IBC or directly, paid Artiano and Fischer $480,000; is that correct?

A I don't recall the amount of money.

Q It was a significant amount of money. It was a significant amount of money; is that correct?

A Oh, yes.

Q You don't remember any other meetings that David Fischer set up for you?

A Not at the second.

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Q You don't remember one?

MS. LUBIN: We would be glad to look at calendars and phones and to-do lists, if you want us to go back through them.

MR. OLIVER: The point is, my recollection of going through the to-do lists was that there were a lot of things on the to-do lists were David Fischer -- there were suggestions that David Fischer set up a lot of meetings, but the meetings were never set up.

MS. LUBIN: If this is important to you, we will be glad to do it again.

MR. OLIVER: All right. We will go back to the calendars in a little bit, in a moment.

THE WITNESS: I mean I just have to refresh my memory. I am sorry.

BY MR. OLIVER:

Q Well, let's go back. This is a good time to go back to some of the calendars, and I have some notes that maybe we can go through just briefly. If you will go back to the first outline, from the beginning to --

A Exhibit 17

Q -- 143.

A Yes.

Q On what is the Page 3 of the September 8, 1985, to-do list, there is a notation --

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A September 3, did you say?

Q September 8, Page 3. What I am going to do is I am going through lists -- I made some notations, just some marks, as we went through these during Mr. Fryman's questioning, just some loose ends that I would like to tie together, if we could. So we will be going through them seriatim, but skipping around.

A Fine.

Q Two-thirds of the way down the page, there is a notation, "D-4," where it says, "Frank: who should we invite?" and then the letter "A." It says, "Strategic Studies Conference attendees." Do you see that?

A Yes.

Q What does that refer to?

A Well, I don't remember specifically, but it was a Strategic Studies Conference. I don't know where it was held; I never went to it, didn't know anything about it. But whoever was there, we were asking the question of Frank Gomez, should they be invited to our Agenda-for-Geneva Conference.

Q This Strategic Studies Conference did take place somewhere?

A I guess. I don't even know where I got the name.

Q But Frank, presumably, knew something about the Strategic Studies Conference?

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A Yes, or, otherwise, he could find out about it.

Q Do you know whether or not this Strategic Studies Conference took place in Europe?

A I have no idea.

Q Did you ever get a list of the attendees?

A No.

(Pause.)

T3S2

Q On Page 14 of the October 12th, 1985, 11:41 to-do list, "11:41" is the time, I assume.

A Yes, it is.

Q Because sometimes you have the same day and a different time.

A Yes.

Q There is some handwriting on the right-hand side of that page which says, "Five Senate races in January," and then "January 20th meeting, Nic -- "I assume that is Nicaraguan/Friends of Freedom. Anniversary of sixth year in office - Angela, copies of Meese letter."

What do those notations refer to?

A Different matters.

Q They are not related to each other?

A No.

Q Well, on the "January 20th meeting of Nicaraguan/ Friends of Freedom," what does that refer to?

A (Witness peruses document.)

We started a project called Friends of Freedom, which never had a real distinct purpose; and we wanted to have a meeting on January 20th, which is the anniversary of President Reagan's sixth year in office.

Q Did you have it?

A No.

Q What does the "Angela, copies of Meese letter," just below that, refer to?

A Well, Ed Meese sent us a letter, thanking us for something, I have forgot what, and we wanted to get copies of it. I don't remember why we wanted them.

Q Did you get copies of the letter?

A I assume so.

Q What did you do with them?

A I don't recall.

Q Did you use it to raise funds? Did you use it to show to your donors or contributors?

A I don't recall.

Q But you don't know why you needed copies of it?

A No.

Q He had written you a letter?

A Yes.

Q Why did you need to call Angela to get -- Angela was your secretary, is that right? Who is Angela?

A Angela is general factotum.

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Q She was the one you were telling to make copies of the Meese letter; basically, that is what this was a note to do?

A Yes.

Q But you can't remember why?

A Right. At Spitz' request.

Q On the October 14th to-do list, on Page 12 --

A Which version?

Q 1555.

MR. McGOUGH: As opposed to 1559?

MR. OLIVER: Wait a minute. It may be 1559. Yes, 1559, Page 12.

THE WITNESS: All right.

BY MR. OLIVER:

Q There is some handwriting on that page; is that your handwriting?

A (Witness peruses document.)

Yes. Yes.

Q In the middle of the page there is half a box, with an arrow drawn to "November 1st, to Williamsburg," a notation on the lower left-hand side of the page. Do you see that?

A Yes.

Q And does it say "Nixon" there?

A Yes.

Q What does that refer to?

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A Hold the fort a minute, please.

(Witness peruses documents.)

Okay. We wanted to have a series of -- I don't know what you call them -- briefings on international topics by President Nixon, and we talked with different people. I am sorry. This is notes of a conversation from Spitz Channell, where he said we should ask Edie Frazier and Tom Miner to help us, and we would pay them for that, and how much we would give to Nixon, and the rest. These would be fundraising events, small fundraising events around the country, focusing on international policy issues.

Q Does the reference to Barbara Newington, in the circle just to the right of that, have any relation to that?

A Yes. We wanted to hold the first ~~ne~~ in her home. She wanted dinner for six in November.

Q Dinner for six?

A Yes.

Q You were going to give $10,000 to Edie and Tom, and $20,000 to Nixon, out of a dinner for six?

A Yes.

Q How much did you expect to raise in this dinner for six?

A Oh, $100,000, probably.

Q What were you going to charge the donors?

A A lot of money.

Q To have dinner with Nixon?

A Well, he would speak at the dinner; that is not what they are paying him for. They are paying to participate in a program.

Q Just below that square is a reference to "Roger Stone: Roy Cohn," and then a figure which looks like it represents $1 million; is that correct?

A That is right.

Q Could you tell us what that reference is to?

A Spitz asked me to contact Roger Stone about putting us in touch with Roy Cohn so that we could ask him for a million dollar contribution

Q Who was Roy Cohn? Was this Roy Cohn.

A Roy Cohn.

Q Who was Roy Cohn?

A Isn't this the -- C-O-H-E-N, isn't that how you spell his name? Roy Cohn, the attorney who died.

Q Well, C-O-H-N is the way I believe it was spelled.

A Fine.

Q Did you ever get in touch with Roger Stone?

A No.

Q Did you ever solicit any funds from Roy Cohn?

A No.

Q Why not?

A One of the 400 things we never got done.

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Q Did you ever try to call Roger Stone?

A I think maybe I did, a couple of times.

Q And he didn't return your calls?

A Right.

Q Turning to the next page; it starts at the top of the page, "October 17th, Washington meeting," and then it looks as though this is a -- for the next three pages, four pages, actually -- five pages, I am sorry.

A Six pages, seven pages, eight pages. Eight pages.

Q So it runs from Page 1 through Page 8; is that correct?

A It was an important program.

Q This all relates to the October 17th Washington meeting?

A That is correct.

Q This meeting did take place?

A It did.

Q Did take place, generally, as it is planned here in this eight-page --

MS. LUBIN: What pages.

MR. OLIVER: Let me, if I may, give you the numbers of the pages so they can be put in the record. They are Control Number 20889, 20890, 20891, 20892, 20893, 20894, 20895, and 20896.

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BY MR. OLIVER:

Q My question was, did the meeting come off pretty much as this schedule indicates it came off?

A I will have to read it.

(Pause.)

Q The meeting did take place on October 17th; is that correct?

A Yes.

Q And the briefing did take place in the Indian Treaty Room?

A I don't remember if it took place exactly in that room.

Q But it did take place in the White House?

A Yes.

Q Did Linda Chavez' deputy introduce all the special invited guests?

A I think so. I am confusing all the different briefings.

Q Did Linda Chavez ever appear at any of your briefings?

A The one in the White House, in the Roosevelt Room.

Q Who contacted Linda Chavez on your behalf?

A I have no idea.

Q Did you ask anyone to contact Linda Chavez?

A I don't recall.

Q Did you ask anyone to contact Pat Buchanan?

A Quite possibly.

Q Did you ever contact Pat Buchanan? Did he ever attend or participate in any of your activities?

A I can't remember.

Q Linda Chavez, you remember participating in the one in the White House.

A Yes.

Q That took place in January of 1986?

A Yes.

Q What did she do at that meeting in January of 1986?

A Announced that she was leaving to run for the Senate.

Q Is that all she did?

A "Hello. I'm leaving." I mean that is about it, yes.

Q This was a Linda Chavez fundraiser, was it?

A No.

Q Surely, there was some other purpose for her to be there.

A "Welcome. I'm leaving."

Q She welcomed everyone?

A Yes.

Q The rest of her remarks didn't make a great impression on you?

A Truly.

Q Then after the event at the White House, the dinner at the Hay Adams took place?

A Yes.

Q It indicates, there on Page 3, "to invite Don Regan or Bud McFarlane to stop by during cocktails." Did they stop by?

A No.

Q Did anyone from the White House stop by during cocktails?

A No. Well, not that I recall. There might have been somebody, but I don't remember who.

Q Did anyone from the White House come to the dinner?

A As I say, I get them confused. I can't remember this particular one.

Q Did anyone from the White House ever attend any of the dinners at the Hay Adams?

A I think Elliott Abrams did, but he is not at the White House, of course.

Q But he did attend one of the dinners at the Hay Adams?

A I think Ollie North came to one of the dinners. I don't remember whether he ate. Fawn Hall came one time.

Q At this particular dinner, did a Mr. Baldizon speak, a Nicaraguan defector?

A I don't remember. I don't think so.

Q Was Mr. Calero there?

A Yes.

Q Was Mr. Rubello there?

A No.

Q Mr. Calero spoke, I assume?

A Yes.

Q If you would turn to October 19th, 1985, 10:51, Page 1.

A Yes.

Q At the top, Roman Numeral I there is "Public Diplomacy Program," and in it Number A is "Contact ad agency re this project," and then you list "Ogleby and Mather, Gray and Company, Wagner and Baroody, and a volunteer, Jim McAvoy," and then "Contact three new firms."

Could you tell me what that was about, that Section A there?

A We wanted to start a Public Diplomacy Program for Nicaragua, and the way we did it was by competitive bidding, and we wanted several firms to participate in that. I think eventually something like 10 or 11 firms did actually submit bids, or at least got talked with. I think the number of actual people who submitted bids was like six, or something.

Q Did you hire any of these firms?

A Yes.

Q Which one?

A We hired a combination of International Business Communications and Edelman and Company, I guess it is. Daniel J. Edelman, that is what it is, that is the name of the firm.

Q On the margins of that page there is quite a bit of handwriting; is that your handwriting?

A Yes.

Q You have, at the top, it says, "Curt Herge: what is law re taking contributors away?" What does that refer to?

A That means taking contributor names away. Who owns the names? When an organization has contributors, who legally owns the names?

Q On the right-hand side of that page, there is a box that says, "Goodman: 30 minutes: getting ready for the battles to come." What does that refer to?

A Some idea for advertising.

Q Then it says, "Spots after the first of the year." What does that refer to?

A That from the same footage, we would take spots, we would take 30-second spots.

Q This relates to the Public Diplomacy Program for Nicaragua on this page?

A Yes. And the Fred Sacher film project that is on there.

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Q Then below that, you have several other notations that read, "One, Two, Three." Number One says, "Who are registered as foreign agents for the USSR?" What does that refer to?

A We wanted to use, in an ad -- we wanted to find out who were the registered agents of the USSR in the United States so we could add up how much all their contracts were worth, so we could say, in an ad, how much the Soviets were spending to influence American opinion.

Q Did you do that?

A We tried; it was very difficult.

Q Why was it difficult?

A They have a lot of contracts, and it is not specifically -- somebody needs to straighten that office.

Q Which office?

A It is not uniform how they report things, so you can't just go there an get a bottom-line number, and people are free to interpret the law as they wish.

Q You mean the Foreign Agents Registration Act that is administered by the Department of Justice?

A Yes.

Q You sent someone to that office to go through these?

A Yes.

Q And you found it so disorganized that you couldn't really get the information that you needed?

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A That is right.

Q Number Two says, "Goodman free to direct next film." What does that refer to?

A Well, he had already done one film for us, and we wanted to do another one, and we wanted to find out much he was going to charge for that.

Q On aid to Nicaragua?

A Well, on the Freedom Fighters.

Q Then the next notation, Number Three, says, "Straighten out IBC fees for October/November." What does that refer to?

A Some accounting matter, but I don't know what.

Q You don't remember. Down next to the bottom, next-to-the-last notation on the right side of the page, it says, "Spitz, first loan: 177 K." Is that correct?

A Yes.

Q Underneath it is a figure that says, "1800 SF." Is that "Swiss francs"?

A Square feet.

Q Square feet. Thank you.

I assume that is a reference to his residence; is that correct?

A Yes.

Q It is not your office space.

A The media-reported $300,000 penthouse.

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Q On the next page, on the upper right-hand side, there are more notes which appear to be your handwriting; is that correct?

A Yes.

Q On the fourth line, below the name "Jim McAvoy," appears the name "Pyramid Video." Could you tell me what that refers to?

A It is a company that send out B-roll footage by satellite.

Q Sends out what kind of footage?

A B-roll. You see the reference, just below the name it says "five to seven minutes of B-roll," are the words there.

Q What is "B-roll footage?"

A It is a technical term in advertising. I don't know what it stand for, but it means a section of video tape that is sent out as a news release, a video news release, over the air.

Q Did you contract with Mr. McAvoy to do this?

A No.

Q Did Mr. Goodman make this film for you in 1986?

A I don't think so. I can't recall. He made a lot of things for us, but I don't think he made this.

Q Were all the things that he made for you related to Central America or Nicaragua?

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A No.

Q What did he do besides Central America and Nicaragua?

A Well, I would have to look at the --

Q You don't remember, generally, what he did?

A No.

Q But the film he had done for you previously was about Freedom Fighters in Central America; is that correct?

A Yes.

Q Did he do any other films or spots for you about Central America or Freedom Fighters in 1986?

A Well, I don't recall. He probably did 20 or 30 different projects for us, and you asked me specifically a time period of 1986; I would have to go back to the records and check.

Q I would like for you to turn to October 26th, 1985, 12:27, Page 10.

A Yes.

Q We talked earlier about this page, in earlier testimony, I believe, where you indicated that the January 1986 project was put on this to-do list at the direction of Spitz Channell; is that correct?

A Yes.

Q Now, did you ever carry out this to-do project?

A No.

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Q Did you carry out any of it?

A No.

Q You did not contribute to any Senate races in 1986?

A I don't recall.

Q I would like for you to turn to October 26, 1985, 12:27 p.m., Page 14. In the middle of the page, down below "D. Mailing list changes," it says, "Number 2, ASAP, Where is the Tom Evans list?" My question is, what is the "Tom Evans list?"

A A list of six or eight names that Tom Evans gave us.

Q These were potential donors?

A Yes.

Q Do you remember any of the names on the list?

A Daniel Terra.

Q Any others?

A No.

Q Did Daniel Terra contribute?

A No.

Q Was he approached?

A I don't know.

Q I would like you to turn to December 9th, 1985, 11:02, Page 4. Actually, Page 3.

A December 9th, 11:02, Page 3.

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Q Correct. At the bottom of the page you have a Section D called "Other Ideas." You still have on your to-do list the USSR foreign agents, which we have discussed.

A Yes.

Q Number 4 is "Hire a lobbying firm." Do you see that there?

A Yes.

Q Did you hire a lobbying firm at that time?

A No.

Q Did you ever hire a lobbying firm?

A Well, I suppose.

Q Who was the lobbying firm you hired?

A Dan Kuykendall ~~Kirchendahl~~; also --

Q Bruce Cameron?

A Bruce Cameron.

Q Number 5 on the list, turning to the next page, says, "WH Congressional Relations Office." I assume that means "White House Congressional Relations Office?

A Yes.

Q "Re next aid bill for the Contras." Number 1 says, "What can we do to help?" Number 2 says, "Ask Green," and Number 3 says, "Ask McFarlane." And beside that, in what I believe is your handwriting, says, "Now very important." Is that your handwriting?

A Yes.

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Q Could you tell me what that Number 5 refers to?

A I was supposed to contact the White House

Congressional Relations Office and ask what can we do to help on the next aid bill for the Contras.

Q Did you contact them?

A No.

Q Did you contact Green about it?

A No.

Q Did you contact Mr. McFarlane about it?

A No.

Q Did you contact anyone about it?

A No.

Q Why not?

A One of the 500 things we didn't get done.

Q The notation "Now very important" might have indicated that you might have given it some priority, but you never did?

A That was a direction from Spitz, but he was perpetually saying that everything was critical.

Q At the bottom of that page, you have "For a trip to take, trips takes." It says, "A. Schedule trip to Texas," and the Number 1 name is Mrs. Pew.

Did you go to Texas?

A No.

Q Did you talk to Mrs. Pew?

A I think one of the fundraisers did, yes.

Q Did she contribute?

A I can't recall. I would have to check the records.

Q Did any of the other names on that list from Texas contribute?

A I am not sure. Again, I would have to check.

Q Below that, it says "Schedule trip to Columbus, Georgia." Did any of those names that are listed below there contribute?

A I would have to check again. I am not certain.

Q C is "Schedule a trip to California," and the first name on that list is Melvin Salwasser; is that correct?

A Yes.

Q Did he contribute?

A Yes.

Q Did any of the other names on that list contribute?

A I would have to check.

Q Did you take a trip to California?

A Well, we did take a trip to California, but I don't know when exactly it was. I mean I don't know whether it is in connection with this note, for example.

Q How much money did Melvin Salwasser eventually contribute to Channell operations?

A I would have to check.

Q Was it a substantial amount?

A Well, it depends on whose standards you are using. He was a small contributor.

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Q Did he contribute several times?

A Yes.

Q Did you call him to contribute on various occasions?

A I didn't, never.

Q Did one of your fundraisers?

A Yes.

MS. LUBIN: Would this be a good time to break?

MR. OLIVER: Would you like to take a break? We will take a 5-minute break. Off the record.

[Whereupon, a brief recess was taken.]

T4S1

MR. OLIVER: Back on the record.

BY MR. OLIVER:

Q Mr. Conrad, we were discussing, I believe, the to-do list of December 9th, 1985, which refers to a number of trips to take: to Texas; Columbus, Georgia; California and Florida.

You indicated that there was a trip to California at some point, or there was not a trip?

A Yes, there was.

Q When did that trip take place?

A I would have to consult the records.

Q This list of people in these various places, I take it, are prospective donors; is that correct?

A Yes.

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Q How did you get the names of these prospective

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donors?

A Just general knowledge. I mean I couldn't possibly tell you the source of them.

Q Would your telephone fundraisers, in their telephone calls, have turned up these names?

A Some.

Q Some of them. Do you recognize, besides Mr. Salmasser, any names on that list who were actually contributors at some later point?

A In California?

Q In California.

A Well, I would have to double-check. Maybe Bob Ferguson, and I think Brandenberger didn't give. I don't remember about Adams. I would have to double-check.

Q Was the general purpose of these trips to sort of have direct contract with these potential contributors whose names you had received, either through telephone solicitations or been given to you by somebody else?

A Yes.

Q Before you took a trip to see somebody, you had a general idea that they were interested in your program; is that correct?

A Oh, absolutely.

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Q Would you turn to the handwritten notes in the first book, the one that is not quite as thick as the second one, Document Number A, 0037766. It is about three-quarters of the way through.

A Let me see what it looks like.

Q It is the Salwasser one.

A All right. Thank you. Yes.

Q Whose handwriting is on that page?

A 37766?

Q 37766, that is right.

A Kris Littledale.

Q Is this a report of a phone message? Is this a typical kind of a report -- not the contents of it, but the form of it, is this the kind of a report that one of your telephone solicitors would give to you and to Spitz after they had made contact with someone?

A No.

Q What would they generally do?

A This would keep this on file for their own information.

Q They would keep this on file for their own information. But this is generally the kind of thing that they would put in their file, notes that they would take from the conversation?

A Yes.

Q Would you read this note regarding Mr. Melvin Salwasser.

MS. LUBIN: Do you want him to start at any particular page.

MR. OLIVER: Or perhaps we should just put it in the record, and I will refer to it. If we could put this document, Number 37766 into the record at this point, I will refer to parts of it.

MR. FRYMAN: It is already a part of it. It is a deposition exhibit.

BY MR. OLIVER:

Q Have you ever seen this document before?

A No.

Q Did you ever discuss the contents of this document with -- who did you say had written this docurent?

A ~~Ch~~Kris Littledale.

Q -- ~~C~~Khris Littledale?

A Not that I recall.

Q Does the content of this note, what this fellow was saying, did anything in there disturb you in any way? Were you concerned about that?

A I have not read it.

Q Take just a minute and read it.

MR. OLIVER: We will go off the record for just a moment to give Mr. Conrad an opportunity to read this.

[Briefly off the record.]

MR. OLIVER: Back on the record.

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BY MR. OLIVER:

Q Does anything in that note by your fundraiser disturb you?

A Well, I don't know what you mean by "disturb."

Q On the third line, beginning the end of fourth line from the bottom, it says, referring to Mr. Salwasser, I assume, "wanted to kill a lib. congressman." Does that bother you?

A If that bothered me, there is a great deal else in this that would have bothered me, but did not.

Q But after this man was contacted on August 5th, 1985, you wanted to put him at the top -- you put him at the top of your list for a scheduled trip to California later on in 1985; is that correct?

A That did not indicate priority.

Q But you did schedule him as one of five people that you wanted to schedule a trip in California to see?

A Yes.

Q Would you turn to Page --

MS. LUBIN: May I, just for the record, are you aware of Mr. Salwasser killing any liberal congressmen?

THE WITNESS: No.

BY MR. OLIVER:

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Q Would you turn to Page A037792, which is about four or five pages further in this document -- no, 91, I am sorry.

Whose handwriting is that?

A 37791?

Q Yes.

A ~~C~~Khris Littledale.

Q The name on there is Mr. Carl Weller; is that correct?

A Yes.

Q He is also one of the people who is on this list of people to see on one of these trips; is that correct, on stage?

A Yes.

Q Did you ever see Mr. Weller?

A No.

Q Did he ever become a contributor?

A I don't recall. I have to check.

Q Would you turn to the next page, Document Number 37792?

A Yes.

Q The contributor on that page, according to this, said, "Yes to 4:16 briefing, 1K." Does that mean he donated $1,000?

A I don't know. You would have to ask ~~C~~Khris Littledale.

Q Well, there are four notes on there, April 25th, June 16th, August 26th, October 27th, October 30th and

December 12th, all which have notations besides them, money amounts. Would it indicate to you, if you looked at this as a note from one of your fundraisers, this gentleman had donated money?

A Well, this is a note from ~~C~~ K ris Littledale to himself, so I don't know what his note means. You would have to ask him the question.

Q Would you turn back to Document A, 0036003, which is three-quarters of the way through the book, back in the other direction. It starts with "Ollie solicitation." It is a handwritten note.

A I can't find it. May I look at your copy?

Q Yes.

A Yes. I have it.

Q You have indicated in your earlier testimony that that was Cliff Smith's handwriting; is that correct

A Yes.

Q What does that page refer to?

A (Witness peruses document.)

I am not sure. It doesn't make much sense to me.

Q Does it refer to a solicitation, Ollie solicitation, against the Barnes' campaign?

MS. LUBIN: He said he doesn't know.

BY MR. OLIVER:

Q Was there a time when the people who were working

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for you were soliciting money for a campaign against Michael Barnes?

MS. LUBIN: Does this relate in any way to Nicaragua?

MR. OLIVER: It comes under the heading here of "Ollie solicitation."

MS. LUBIN: This isn't his document, sir.

MR. OLIVER: It is the document of one of his employees. He has already identified this as being --

MS. LUBIN: Why don't we put this off with the other agreement?

MR. OLIVER: We can put it off until the end of the day.

MS. LUBIN: Why don't we put it off until we could reconvene, is my understanding.

MR. OLIVER: Well, I don't see why this reference to an "Ollie solicitation" isn't relevant to this investigation. Mr. Barnes was the Chairman of Western Hemisphere Affair Subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

MS. LUBIN: Are you aware of any solicitation relating to Mr. Barnes, relating to Nicaragua?

THE WITNESS: No.

MS. LUBIN: Fine.

MR. OLIVER: Are you aware of any solicitation relating to Mr. Barnes?

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MS. LUBIN: We are going to put that off until another time. Thank you, sir.

MR. OLIVER: On what grounds?

MS. LUBIN: On the grounds that we agreed to.

MR. OLIVER: Counsel, I have agreed to no such grounds.

MS. LUBIN: Fine. If you want to push it now, you can, but I think we are too tired to continue with it like this at this time.

MR. OLIVER: I have just defined Mr. Barnes as the Chairman of the Western Hemisphere Affairs Subcommittee with oversight responsibility for Nicaragua, which I believe would indicate that he is relevant to this investigation.

MS. LUBIN: I would like to go off the record.

MR. OLIVER: Off the record.

[Brief discussion off the record.]

MR. OLIVER: Back on the record.

BY MR. OLIVER:

Q Could we go on for a moment, putting off this subject until a time, to the second volume of the "To-do Activity Outline."

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Mr. Conrad, the first page of that refers, on January 15, 1986, refers to the Central American Freedom Program," and the first name under the Central American Freedom Program is Linda Chavez, with a phone number.

Could you tell me why that was on your to-do list under the Central American Freedom Program?

A We wanted to let the White House know what we were doing. We wanted to make requests of them for various meetings.

Q Related to the Central American Freedom Program?

A Did you make contact with the White House about that?

A I think we did not.

Q But you did have a briefing at the White House two weeks later; is that correct?

A Yes.

Q And Linda Chavez was at that meeting?

A Yes.

Q Do you know who made contact with Linda Chavez?

A No.

Q You were aware of the luncheon which took place on January 6th at the Prime Rib with Elliott Abrams, Marty Artiano, Spitz Channell, Rich Miller and David Fischer; is that correct?

A I didn't know who else was there.

Q You are aware that Spitz Channell attended a luncheon on that date?

A Yes.

Q Were you aware that Rich Miller was there?

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A No.

Q Were you aware that Elliott abrams was there?

A Yes.

Q What did you know about that luncheon?

A I don't recall.

Q Did you have anything to do with setting it up?

A No.

Q Did you know that there were story boards with television ads that were shown to Mr. Abrams by Mr. Channell at that luncheon?

A No.

Q Where did these story boards for your ads come from?

A The Robert Goodman Agency.

Q And you would not have known of Spitz Channell having a luncheon with the Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American of Affairs and showing a story board on ads?

MS. LUBIN: He said he knew about that.

THE WITNESS: I said I knew about that luncheon.

BY MR. OLIVER:

Q But you didn't know about the story boards and the ads being shown there?

A No.

Q Did Spitz Channell talk to you about the luncheon after he returned to the office, or within the subsequent days?

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A As I recall, he mentioned it.

Q What did he say?

A I don't remember. It was not very important.

Q If you would turn to February 22nd, 1986, 12:49, Page 2.

A There are two versions of that, both at the same time; one on Page --

Q Page 20804.

A Fine.

Q Roman Numeral III refers to the Central American Freedom Program, and Number A under Roman Numeral III refers to "task force members." That is the first reference that I have seen in your notes -- there are none in the exhibits that we have in 1985 to this task force.

Could you tell me what this task force was about that is listed under the Central American Freedom Program?

A We monitored the progress of the -- "task force" is too grand of a name for it; all we did was get together once a week and everybody reported their progress.

Q This group met once a week?

A Yes.

Q The task force members were Steve Cook?

A Yes.

Q What did he do? What was he reporting his progress on?

A Public relations.

Q In relation to?

A Well, he handled the public relations aspect of the Central American Freedom Program.

Q What kind of thing did he do?

A Oh, he broadcast the B-roll footage, arranged for speakers to be on national TV programs. He put out news releases.

Q What kind of speakers?

A People representing the Freedom Fighters.

Q Allen Carrier. I assume, since he is listed under "Edelman," that he worked for Steve Cook; is that correct?

A Yes.

Q What did he do?

A I don't remember.

Q Then Debbie Messick is also listed under "Edelman," what did she do?

A Staff person; I don't know.

Q She worked for Steve Cook?

A Yes.

Q Allen Carrier and Debbie Messick generally assisted Steve Cook with his public relations function; is that correct?

A Yes.

Q The next name there is Bruce Cameron, who you have

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testified earlier was referred to you by Rich Miller. What was Bruce Cameron's role in this task force and what did he report during these weekly meetings?

A Well, he wasn't present all the time. He talked about his lobbying efforts.

Q What did he say about his lobbying efforts?

A I would have to consult my other documents to be able to answer that.

Q Did you attend these meetings?

A Yes.

Q Who else from the Channell organizations attended these meetings?

A Well, Spitz and various other people at different times.

I have to correct something. It is not only weekly. Sometimes it was more often than that.

Q Sometimes more often than weekly?

A Yes.

Q Did Bruce Cameron report at these meetings about how certain congressmen were going to vote or which congressmen were leaning, or doubtful on this Central American aid bill?

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A Yes. That wasn't the basic thrust of it. He, fundamentally, talked about what issues -- you know, we weren't so concerned about the votes of particular people; we were concerned about the issues that they were discussing on which their vote would hinge. So he would and say, "Well, this is the argument today," or "This was the argument yesterday," and "This is what we are hearing now," and so on.

Q The next name on the task force list is Marty Artiano. What was his role on the task force?

A I can't remember that he ever attended.

Q Why is his name on the list?

A I can't answer the question. I don't know.

Q Did he ever attend?

A Not that I remember.

Q Was he involved in the Central American Freedom Program?

A I don't recall.

Q You don't know why he would be one of five people listed on the task force?

A Right.

Q And this group met sometimes more often than weekly; during what period of time?

A February and March.

Q January to March, 1986?

A Somewhere in there, yes.

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Q Edie Frazier, what was her job on this task force?

A She also did not attend the meetings. She was in charge of coordinating a letter-writing campaign in certain media markets.

Q In certain congressional districts?

A Her involvement was to state-wide programs and national programs; some local, but having to do with her contacts, not having to do with necessarily where we wanted efforts being made.

Q Why would she be in this task force meeting that was related, I assume, to a congressional vote that was to take place in April; is that correct?

A Why would she be in the task force?

Q Yes. Well, is it correct that this was related, this task force that was meeting weekly and sometimes more frequently, was related to the vote that was going to take place in Congress; is that correct?

A Yes.

Q Why would she be in that meeting?

A She didn't attend the meeting.

Q Why would she be on the task force?

A Because she was involved in organizing a grass roots letter-writing campaign, which was part of the Central American Freedom Program.

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Q As that relates to a congressional vote, it would seem that these grass roots letter-writing campaigns would be directed towards certain congressmen; isn't that correct?

A It was directed to the issue of -- I mean since it was nationwide, it could be any congressman. It was directed toward the issue of the Freedom Fighters.

Q Edie Frazier's role was a nationwide letter-writing campaign that was not geared to specific congressional districts; is that your testimony?

A I don't remember the original instructions to her, but I think the way it turned out was she was nationwide.

Q What did Jack Lichtenstein do on the task force?

A Basically the same thing as Edie Frazier.

Q Nationwide, grass roots letter-writing campaign?

A In his case, he went about it differently, and so I think his was less national and more targeted to the media markets that we were focusing on.

Q How do you focus direct mail on media markets?

A Get the Zip Codes in the media markets. It is easy to do.

Q You are a professional fundraiser, and I assume you are very familiar with the costs of direct mail.

A Yes.

Q How much money did you spend on this nationwide direct mail campaign? Would you give us a ball park figure?

A Well, maybe I have misstated it. We didn't pay anybody's costs in sending in direct mail. We paid the costs of -- I don't remember, I mean $20,000 or $40,000, something like that.

Q To do what?

A To get people to call each other, their friends, whatever, to have them write letters, to the congressmen of their choice, on a subject that we were concerned about.

Q To the congressmen of their choice?

A Yes.

Q Not to any special group of congressmen?

A Right.

Q Not to any swing voters?

A No. I mean if swing voters were involved in the area, fine; if they weren't, that is fine, too.

Q There wasn't a targeted list of votes that was discussed at these meetings?

A Not to my knowledge. To be more precise about that, there were several targeted lists. I don't know whether they were discussed at these meetings or not.

Q What were the targeted lists used for?

A Well, we were constantly going to pick certain key ones, and it was used primarily for advertising.

Q On Page 0020810, February 22nd, 1986, 12:49, there is a reference to a "campaign finance school. Do you see that?

A Yes.

Q Was that school ever organized?

A No.

Q Was that another of Spitz Channell's ideas?

A No. Well, yes, I suppose it was.

Q Whose idea was it?

A The way it is refined here, outlined here, it was my idea, but it was his idea to have one.

Q You never followed through on it?

A No.

Q Could you turn to February 22nd, 1986, 12:49, Page 1; this may be a duplicate. It looks like it.

A 20810?

Q Yes. This one has handwriting on it; the other one did not.

A Yes.

Q Is that your handwriting in the margin?

A Yes, it is.

Q On the right side, it says, "Deadline Tuesday, Steve and Phil, Number 1 money count for CAFP and NEPL --"

A "Reserves."

Q "-- reserves." What does that refer to?

A Spitz wanted to know how much money we had in reserve, that we didn't have committed for other projects.

Q For the Central American Freedom Program?

A No. Just for -- how much did we have for the Central American Freedom Program and how much did we have in net reserves.

Q Why was there a Tuesday deadline?

A I haven't any idea.

Q On Page 0020643, if you would turn to that page, which is March 8th, I take it, 1986, 12:19, Page 1.

A March what?

Q March 8.

A 10643?

Q That is correct. You have there "Bruce Cameron and Penn Kemble." Did Penn Kemble ever arrange, or Bruce Cameron ever arrange doctors for a press conference?

A I don't think so.

Q Did they ever arrange a press conference for anybody?

A Not that I recall.

Q Did they arrange for an ad in the Washington Post?

A Yes.

Q What was that ad?

A Well, it was an ad in support of the Freedom Fighters.

Q Was it under the National Endowment for the Preservation of Liberty?

A No.

Q What was it under?

A PRODEMCA.

Q But you paid for it, is that correct? NEPL paid

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for the ad?

A I can't say that with any precision.

Q Did you give a grant to PRODEMCA for the cost of the ad?

A Not for the cost of the ad.

Q What was the grant to PRODEMCA for?

A It was unrestricted.

Q It was an unrestricted grant?

A Right.

Q Do you know how much it was for; do you remember?

A I don't remember. I would have to look.

Q Was there just one?

A I think there was more than one. I would have to look.

Q Of unrestricted grants?

A I would have to look again at our correspondence.

Q Now, if you will turn over to Page 3 of this particular March 8 to-do list, you will see in the list of people on the task force members, you have added Penn Kemble, just below the name of Bruce Cameron which appears on the previous page.

A Yes.

Q Why was he added to this task force?

A He was concerned about the issue and he came from time to time to our meetings.

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Q This is the same time that you were giving a grant to PRODEMCA?

A Well, I would have to look to see if the timing is the same.

Q What was his role in the task force? What did he report on?

A He didn't report on anything. He just listened and gave advice from time to time.

Q What did he give advice about?

A I don't remember.

Q Was it about congressional votes?

A I don't recall.

Q He and Bruce Cameron were both on the Board of the Center for Democracy in the Americas, which NEPL had given a grant to; is that correct?

A Yes.

Q And he was on the board or was the head of PRODEMCA, which NEPL gave a grant to; is that correct?

A Yes.

Q And he placed an ad in the Washington Post, or he and Bruce Cameron placed an ad in the Washington Post, under the name of PRODEMCA, that was related to the Nicaraguan Freedom Fighters; is that correct?

A Well, I am not sure, actually, if it was the Washington Post or the New York Times.

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Q Your to-do notes refer to an ad in the Washington Post under the names Bruce Cameron and Penn Kemble.

A I know. But I am thinking about it now, and it may have been the New York Times.

Q Could it have been both?

A Possibly.

Q And he also sat on your Central American Freedom Program task force; is that correct?

A Yes.

Q How long did that task force stay in existence?

A Well, I don't know the answer to that. I would have to check the specific dates.

Q Was it a January to March program, designed to try to influence the vote in the Congress that was going to take place in March or mid-April?

A I would have to check my records.

Q You don't remember whether there was an effort to influence the vote on aid to the Freedom Fighters in the Congress in March or April 1986?

A I would have to check my records about the length of time involved.

Q But there was such an effort?

A To do what now?

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Q To influence the Congress on the vote that was to take place in the House of Representatives on aid to the

Freedom Fighters in March or April of 1986?

A Part of our program was directed to that, yes.

Q Is that what this task force was concerned with?

A No. Not exclusively, certainly.

Q You are primarily a fundraising organization; is that correct?

A Well, I wouldn't typify it that way.

Q What would you call it?

A We're a public education organization.

Q How many educators work for you? Teachers, doctors, Ph.D's, people who are in the field of education? Anybody in the field of education?

A We contracted all of that out.

Q Who did you contract that out to?

A All manner of consultants. Most of our own money was spent on consultants.

Q Well, you have indicated that you have two direct mail specialists, a lobbyist, a PR person --

A Who are the direct mail specialists?

Q Well, Edie Frazier and Jack Lichtenstein. You said they ran the grass roots mail program.

A Well, that's not -- okay. You and I have different definitions of what is direct mail.

Q None of these people would be considered educators, would they?

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A Public education, yes, indeed. Advertising, all kinds of advertising, including grass roots --

Q Lobbying?

A No, lobbying is not under public education. Lobbying is something different.

Q It appears to me, on your to-do notes, that this Central American Freedom Program task force lasts from January until April of 1986, and then it disappears from your to-do notes. And this is a group which you have testified met more often than even weekly.

A Yes.

Q And it would seem that this is the period of time, beginning with January 6th, 1986, when Spitz Channell met with Elliott Abrams, when you started to have your meetings at the White House arranged by David Fischer, that this was the period of time when your major project was relating to the vote in the Congress which took place on April 15th, 1986. Is that correct?

A We were involved in a public education program.

Q My question was whether the task force, that is referred to in your notes during that period, was primarily concerned with influencing the vote in the Congress.

A No, I wouldn't say so.

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Q I want to refer you to the memoranda, letters, invoices transcripts, et cetera, in the last black book, to

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Document A0079240. It is dated April 15th, 1986. It is a letter to Rich Miller from Spitz Channell, and it starts off, "Dear Rich: As promised, the final House votes to decide the fate of freedom in Nicaragua are today, April 15th, being taken."

Then the letter goes on to talk about the program, and it asks, from everyone, toward the end, Spitz asks Rich Miller to convey his thanks to everyone, and tell them he will personally contact them about future projects, and then ask him to tell them that they are basically off the payroll. Then he lists the people who he asks him to contact, saying that they are all terminated as of that night, the night that the House votes were being taken.

That list includes, does not, all the members of the task force referred to in your to-do notes?

A Plus some others.

Q But it does refer to all the people whose names are on the task force in your to-do notes; is that correct?

A No. It omits some.

Q Who does it omit?

A Allen Carrier and Debbie Messick.

Q But it does include their boss, Steve Cook; is that correct?

A Yes.

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Q And Marty Artiano and David Fischer?

A And it does not Bruce Cameron.

Q But it includes Penn Kemble; is that correct?

A Yes.

Q It includes Jack Liechtenstein?

A Yes.

Q And Dan Kirchendahl, who is not referred to on the task force, but what was Dan Kirchendahl's job? What tasks did he perform for Spitz Channell in Sentinel?

A I don't know. He was consulting.

Q You don't know what Dan ~~Kirchendahl~~ Kuykendall did?

A At this particular time, what he did, I do not know.

Q Do you, generally, know what he did in 1986, early 1986?

A He was a consultant.

Q Bob and Adam Goodman?

A Advertising people.

Q Isn't it true, Mr. Conrad, that between February and April of 1986, that Channell organizations paid for a very large number of television ads that were directed at certain media markets, that affected targeted congressmen whose votes were crucial in the aid to the Contra vote in the House of Representatives?

A Say it again. I am sorry.

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Q Isn't it true that in March and April of 1986, the Channell organizations paid for a television spot

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advertisements in selected media markets that were related to targeted members of Congress whose votes were crucial to aid for the Central American Freedom Fighters?

A I don't know how targeted the media markets were.

Q You did run those television spot ads in March and April of 1986?

MS. LUBIN: What television spot ads?

MR. OLIVER: The television spot ads that were prepared by Bob and Adam Goodman.

THE WITNESS: Yes, we ran some television spots in some areas.

BY MR. OLIVER:

Q Was it a large number?

A I think so. As I said, I would to check the records.

Q Is it still your testimony that this task force was not related --

MS. LUBIN: That wasn't his testimony.

BY MR. OLIVER:

Q Is it your testimony that the task force that was referred to in your to-do notes was not primarily concerned with the vote that was to take place in Congress relating to the Freedom Fighters?

A It was not primarily, no.

Q What was its primary task?

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A To influence public opinion, as I have stated previously.

Q Why did you disband it on April 15th, 1986?

A I didn't.

Q Why did Spitz Channell write to Rich Miller and tell all those people that they were all terminated on April 15th?

A He decided to stop the program. You will have to ask him why he did it.

Q Did it relate, in your opinion, to the House vote?

A That is conjecture on my part.

Q Do you have an opinion?

A No.

Q I don't really have much more, but there are a couple of things here that I can't find. If you would just give me a moment.

[Pause.]

If you would turn towards the back of this large book on Page --

A What is the date?

Q It is January 7th, 1987, on Page 8. Do you have that?

A Yes. 20926?

Q That is correct. On Number D says, "Design CAFP Program for January-March." What did that refer to?

A We were supposed to do another Central American Freedom Program.

Q Number E says, "Meeting on Nicaragua with consultants. Number 1, what we did right and wrong." What does that refer to?

A We wanted to have a meeting, we wanted to ask them how we did -- how what we did was good and how what we did needed improvement.

Q Number 2 says, "What we need to do for the next go-around." What did "the next go-around" refer to?

A The "January-March" above it.

Q Why was the January-March period important?

A I don't recall.

Q Could it have been that they felt that was the period in which Congress would be considering Contra aid?

A It could be.

Q Was it?

A I don't know.

[Pause.]

Q Would you look at the June 14th, 1986, to-do list, Page 1, 00 --

A Wait, wait one second.

June 14th, 1986; what page?

Q Page 1, this is the 1310 reference.

A Yes. 20369.

Q That is correct.

Q On the right-hand side of that, there is some handwriting; is that your handwriting?

A Yes.

Q It says, "If we win: Nicaragua. Letters from RR." Is that Ronald Reagan?

A Yes.

Q "Kuykendall ~~Kirchendahl~~, Ollie, Elliott Abrams, Trent Lott, Bob Michaels, Mitch Daniels, Penn Kemble and UNO" What were those letters for and who were they to go to?

A They were supposed to be addressed to us.

Q To NEPL?

A Yes.

Q What were they supposed to say?

A "Thank you for your public education program."

Q And "If we win," refers to what?

A I am not sure. This is June of 1986; I am not sure what it refers to.

Q Could it have referred to a vote in the Congress?

A Possibly.

Q But you don't remember whether or not it was a vote in Congress?

A I would have to check.

Q Why would these letters come from the Minority Leader and Minority Whip of the House of Representatives?

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What did you do for them?

A I have no idea what we did for them.

Q Why were they on the list?

A Spitz told me to put them on the list.

Q Do you know why Spitz told you to put them on the list?

A He wanted letters from them.

Q There is a reference, if you will turn to June 14, 13:10, Page 20.

A Okay.

Q On Number 11D, there is a reference to "Curt Herge/Donna Miller." It says, "Ask about registering our lobbyists (Sentinel)." What does that refer to?

A I am not remembering with any specificity.

Q Were your lobbyists for Sentinel registered?

A I don't really know the answer.

Q You were the Chief Administrator of the Channell organization, and you don't know whether or not your lobbyists were registered?

A I don't.

Q Do you know whether or not they were not registered?

A I don't know that either.

Q Was there a period of time that they were not registered?

A I don't know.

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Q You don't know why this is on the list?

A It is some matter long forgotten now.

Q Would you turn to July 16th, 1986, Page A0020300.

A July 16th, 1986; page what?

Q Page 4.

A 20300?

Q That is correct. Under the "Central American Freedom Program," there are several notations there. I this your handwriting in the margins?

A Yes.

Q It says, "Rich and Green, get an RR thank you letter to us," and then written in your handwriting is, "Deadline August 17th." In parenthesis it says, "(Rich to draft)." What does that refer to?

A Well, we were constantly asking Rich and Colonel North to get a thank you letter from the President for various efforts and activities that we engaged in.

Q When it said, "Transcribe all tapes, audio and video," what did that refer to?

A When we sent speakers around the country, many times we got audio tapes or video tapes of them in action, and we wanted a transcript of all that so that we could put it in a huge report and send it to all our contributors.

Q Did you get it?

A Not the transcription.

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Q If you would turn, toward the end, to September 19, 1986, 18:46, Page 2, Document Number 0020509.

A Page what?

Q Page 2.

A 20509?

Q That is correct. You have a number of references there. Number C says, "Letters of endorsement needed," and it says, "Green, Elliott Abrams, Mitch Daniels, Penn Kemble and UNO." What was that referring to?

A We were always wanting letters of endorsement from all kinds of people. These are several on the list.

Q Were these letters of endorsement related to your Central American Freedom Program?

A They could be related to any one of a number of things. I don't remember what this was specifically done for.

Q Why would Elliott Abrams be on the list?

A Spitz Channell said, "Put him on the list."

Q On Number D, 2A, it says, "Want ads thanking congressmen for voting with us." It says, "Number 1, work up a budget; Number 2, get list of all Democrats from Dan Kuykendall ~~Kirchendahl~~." Could you tell me what that reference Number D2 is about?

A Well, I don't know for sure. I would have to look at the correspondence. Actually, frankly, I don't know that I ever knew.

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Q Why would you get a list of all the Democrats from Dan Kuykendall ~~Kirchendahl~~?

A I don't know.

Q That was something that Spitz told you to do?

A Yes. All of this is what he told me to do.

Q Would you turn to the memoranda, invoices, transcripts, Number A0029521, and it is dated January 16th, 1986. This is a letter to Mrs. Julius Pierce in Florida.

A Yes, I have it.

Q She was referred to earlier in your to-do list on your prospective Florida trip, which you never took.

A Yes.

Q The first line says, "Victory on this aid vote will go a very long way to, as you well say, 'save Ronald Reagan.'" What aid vote are you talking about?

A It is not my letter; I don't know.

Q Were you the Executive Director of Sentinel?

A Yes.

Q Was this a letter that went out to a large number of contributors?

A I never saw this letter until two days ago when you showed it to me for the first time.

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Q Were you aware that Sentinel was in an emergency situation in which they were soliciting generous contributions, in January of 1986, relating to an aid vote in the

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Congress?

A Ever organization we had was constantly in an emergency. That is a fundraising technique.

Q This particular emergency, though, according to this letter, relates to an aid vote in the Congress; is that correct?

MS. LUBIN: The letter speaks for itself.

BY MR. OLIVER:

Q A few pages further on, in Document Number 81706, there is --

A What is it?

Q It is called "A plan of action to lobby Congress on military aid for the Nicaraguan resistance, prepared by Bruce Cameron on January 24th, 1986." Was that plan of action submitted to you?

A No.

Q Was it submitted to any of the Channell organizations?

MS. LUBIN: I think he testified he had not seen it before.

THE WITNESS: No, I have not seen it before.

BY MR. OLIVER:

Q You have never seen it before. This is the same Bruce Cameron that was on the task force that met weekly during the period of January-April 1986?

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A Yes.

Q And he was a lobbyist who was retained by NEPL; is that correct?

A Yes.

Q A few pages later, there is a reference to a document, Number 78810, dated March 19, 1986.

A Yes.

Q It is a document which we have referred to earlier. It is addressed to you, Dan Conrad at Sentinel, from Eric Singer, for the Center for Democracy in the Americas.

A Yes.

Q "Re projections on tomorrow's vote in the House." Do you remember receiving this document?

A Yes.

Q Is the center for Democracy in the Americas the organization which Bruce Cameron was associated with?

A Yes.

Q It was a lobbying organization; is that correct?

A I don't know what their official status is.

Q They were funded by NEPL; is that correct?

A Partly.

Q Do you know what they got any other funds from?

A I do not, no.

Q Why would Dan Conrad send you projections on a vote in the House of Representatives?

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MS. LUBIN: I think you have that backwards.

BY MR. OLIVER:

Q This is to Dan Conrad from Eric Singer; why would he send you "projections on tomorrow's vote in the House of Representatives"?

A Because I asked him to.

Q Why did you ask him to?

A We wanted his projections as to who was going to vote which way.

Q You were concerned about that vote?

A Spitz asked me to get the list.

Q Why didn't Eric singer send them to Spitz Channell?

A Because I ask for it.

Q What did you do with it after you got it?

A Gave it to Spitz Channell.

Q What did he do with it?

A I couldn't tell you.

Q A few pages alter, there is a report which was referred to earlier, Document 76222, from Bruce Cameron to Dan Conrad, dated March 19, 1986. Do you see that?

A Yes.

Q Was this a typical report from Bruce Cameron to you?

A I don't remember ever having seen this.

Q You have never seen this document before?

A I do not recall it.

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Q Bruce Cameron did sit on your weekly, and sometimes more often, meetings of the task force on the Central American Freedom Fighters; is that correct?

A On occasion, yes.

Q Were the reports that he gave at those task force meetings similar to the activities that are referred to in this activities report?

A No.

Q What were his reports about?

A Just as I said previously, he would talk about issues that were being discussed now in the Congress, the arguments that were holding sway.

Q He was a lobbyist who was paid by you; is that correct?

A Yes.

Q As a lobbyist, was he retained to try to influence votes?

A You will have to ask Spitz Channell. I don't know what the agreement was when he was hired.

Q But you sat in on these frequent meetings between January and April of 1986 where he was present?

A Yes.

Q And he did not discuss influencing votes; is that your testimony?

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A He discussed the issues that were being discussed in Congress, related to the Freedom Fighters.

Q Couldn't you have read that in the newspapers?

A Possibly.

Q Didn't it strike you as strange that a lobbyist wasn't reporting to you about how people were going to vote?

A It didn't strike me as strange, no.

Q What do you think lobbyists do? What is your concept of a lobbyist?

A I am not sure I have a good one.

Q Were you the Executive Director of ATAC?

A I don't know. I might have been. I would have to check.

Q Did you have some responsibilities for ATAC?

A I don't know. There are so many organizations, I couldn't possibly tell you. I would have to check.

Q Earlier, you have indicated in your testimony that you were the Chief Administrator, becoming the Executive Director of all the Channell organizations.

A Yes, but that doesn't mean I have responsibility.

Q You did not have any responsibility for ATAC?

A I don't know. I would have to check. I can't recall being involved in any meaningful way.

Q Were you on the Board?

A I would have to look.

Q You don't know, you don't remember?

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A I don't know.

Q I want to refer you to Document Number 33006, dated August 25th, 1986, which was earlier referred to by Mr. Fryman during his examination.

A 33006?

Q Right.

Q Do you have that?

A Yes.

Q Was it your testimony that you had not seen this document before?

A I don't recall having seen it.

Q Were you aware that Spitz Channell wanted a document, a memo sent to Don Regan in the Summer or early Fall of 1986?

A Not that I recall.

Q You read this document earlier when Mr. Fryman referred to it; is that correct?

A Did I read it before? I think I did, yes.

Q On the second page of this document, the first paragraph refers to "$600,000 being spent by NEPL to conduct pro-Nicaraguan Freedom Fighters tours in 47 congressional districts in the seven months prior to the first House vote in March on Freedom Fighter aid." Is that correct?

A That is what it says.

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Q You earlier indicate that you were not aware of, or

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did not believe that your efforts were directed at congressional districts.

MS. LUBIN: I don't think that is quite correct. The record will stand for itself.

MR. OLIVER: Very well.

BY MR. OLIVER:

Q Were the efforts of NEPL in 1986 directed at congressional districts in the Central American Freedom Program?

A They were directed to media markets.

Q In a previous paragraph on the previous page, in the third paragraph, it refers to "television educational informational messages were broadcast by the National Endowment for the Preservation of Liberty in 49 congressional districts and the District of Columbia."

It goes on to say that "ads were broadcast in difficult-to-win congressional districts whose congressmen were undecided as to their vote for or against Freedom Fighter aid. Over $2.5 million went to the television campaign alone."

The next paragraph says, "$750,000 was spent by Sentinel directly to build congressional support for President Reagan. This included advocacy television messages in 32 congressional districts."

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Is it still your testimony that your campaign was not directed at specific congressional districts?

A I didn't write this memo. I had not seen it until a few days ago. It is a pack of lies, as far as I can tell. It has been grossly inflated, in many salient respects. And we have maps that will illustrate very carefully that we identified media markets.

We can also produce, and I am sure you have seen, media market lists generated by Bob and Adam Goodman which directed our efforts for advertising.

T5S1

Q On Document 0027088, further on, an invitation from International Business Communications, to Dan from Steve.

A Could I see what it looks like?

Q Yes.

MS. LUBIN: The one that doesn't have anything to do with Nicaragua, was his testimony the other day?

THE WITNESS: Yes, I have it.

BY MR. OLIVER:

Q In that document Steve sent that is addressed to you, Steve of IBC says, "As per Spitz' request, I am attaching a list of open seats in the House of Representatives," and it goes on to indicate, does it not, members of Congress and numbers of districts; is that correct?

A Yes.

MR. OLIVER: Could we go off the record for a minute.

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[Brief discussion off the record.]

MR. OLIVER: Back on the record.

MR. FRYMAN: I have completed the questioning I have for today except with respect to certain areas that we have agreed to defer. I believe Mr. Oliver has indicated that he has completed his questioning except with respect to certain specific areas we have also agreed to defer.

So on that understanding, we will end the deposition for today, and if we want to continue on a different day, we will reach a mutually agreeable time and will commence on another day.

MS. LUBIN: Understood. Thank you.

[Whereupon, at 5:34 p.m., the deposition in the above-entitled matter was recessed, to be resumed later per agreement of parties.]

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CERTIFICATE OF DEPONENT

I have read the foregoing 183 pages, which contain a correct transcript of the answers made by me to the questions therein recorded.

____

DANIEL LYNN CONRAD

- - -

Subscribed and worn to before me this __________day of ______________________, 1987.

____

Notary Public in and for:

My commission expires:

UNCLASSIFIED

CERTIFICATE OF NOTARY REPORTER

I, Terry Barham, the officer before whom the foregoing deposition was taken, do hereby certify that the witness whose testimony appears in the foregoing transcript was duly sworn by me; that the testimony of said witness was taken by me and thereaftrer reduced to typewriting by me or under my supervision; that said deposition transcript is a true record of the testimony given by said witness; that I am neither counsel for, related to, nor employed by any of the parties to the action in which this deposition was taken; and, further, that I am not a relative or employee of any attorney or counsel employed by the parties hereto, nor financially or otherwise interested in the outcome of the action.

Terry Barham, Notary Public in
and for the District of Columbia

My commission expires May 15, 1989.

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3/19/85 Copied Ex. No. 3 6/10/87 713

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19MAR85

Stu Spencer

Amer for Freedom + Fairness purposes / - film
- brochures
- survey

1. develop public policy support;
grass roots support (US based PR)
2. non-mercenary needs
- health care
- direct to FDN (adolfo Calero)

/ speaking tours
cassettes
films
magazines
/

C H 029143

- get dates of statements by PR on Nic + contra

Reagan Bush lists in the south
Corp lists for inauguration
59¢ → $3.00

Declassified/Released on 10 FEB 88
under provisions of E.O. 12356
by K. Johnson, National Security Council

☆ need a letter from Calero
- asking AFF for help
- saying AFF is a great group

5197

$12-15K/mo
$15-20K/mo
$30K/mo = mailing, phone, stamps, etc

goal: $10 M to FDN
- $4M needed for admin, legal, fund raising

A 0027071

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3/19/85 (2)

19 MAR 85

Advisory Board

Haig
Kissinger
Sam Nunn
Bill Clements (TX)
10 civic leaders in TX
3-4 ILL
3 NYC

Burt Lance
Phil Gramm
Sen. Long

Stu Spencer
Allen Davis
Roger Staubach
Denny Graham
Jerry Falwell
Pat Robertson
Caroline Farb

Jean Kirkpatrick

Richard Allen
$5K for 50 letters
1. plan
2. budget
3. Calero letter
4 IRS letter

5,000
+1,000
6,000

- fashion letter from Calero
- letter/quotes from Pres Reagan
  - Mc Farlane memo
  - Ollie North memo
    - we like what youre ~~going~~ doing

Calero's letter specifically empowers AFF to raise this money

meet Thurs.: proposal 1.00 p.m.
cost analysis of mailings
club (Friends of the Americas) $1,000 - $2,000 total
try to get 1,000 of those people

C A 029141

Declassified/Released on 10FEB88
under provisions of E.O. 12356
Johnson, National Security Council

5198

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NO DATE

Helen Marie Taylor: ask her to give

Rich Miller   E H 37841

1. WH authorization letter for us + his
   a. commercials
   b. criteria:
      past success
      quick turnaround time
   c. due by noon on Tues.
2. authorization letter from Calero empowering Rich + us to raise $ immediately
3. meeting early Thurs. a.m.
4. give us 20 names of donors

promised:

1. to raise $50K for their projects
2. $30K as their fee for the authorization

[redacted] Declassified/Released on 10Feb88
under provisions of E.O 12356
by K. Johnson, National Security Council

5200

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Chapter 4, Footnote

It's the largest best organized and most effective and it's the one that has the U.S. support for the longest period of time.

U36920

We're helping them now to coordinate their Washington activities. We've established an office for them. We've found people to do their congressional affairs for them on a gratis basis.

We're doing the media coordination for them and also the coordination of meetings as the circle goes out beyond just media & Congressional relations. Now into fund raising & administrative & Logistical things.

Who pays?

They do. And it's precious money to them when they're late on expenses as difficult as it may be you have to remind yourself that somebody died down there today. You can't really get mad.

Once they've left the country like that aren't they totally dependent on donations of one kind or another?

No, they really haven't left the country. the in a pocket [redacted] Which is disputed territory.

They go on missions that last 6 to 9 months.

Several of the fighters impressed upon me how much more comfortable they are in the field fighting. They siad they eat better, they sleep better. Their with their people. They're being given food & intelligence and a place to sleep and so on. they actually prefer to be in the field to the camp.

Although they have to go back to the camp for orientation, for instruc for R & R.

Do these people all have redios, so they know what's going on

Declassified/Released on [illegible] under provisions of E.O. 12356 by [illegible], National Security Council

UNCLASSIFIED (4273)

UNCLASSIFIED

There are [redacted] regional commands with from anywhere from [redacted] men. Each of those commands is in radio contact with headquarters.

H 36921

Is that command moving too?

Yes. They're moving also.

We figure now as many as [redacted] young men, and in some cases, older men, across the border, inside Nicaragua, waiting to come over, but there aren't weapons and boots for them.

The main thing I wanted to find out is what his needs really are, how his weapons are.

The second point is that the people in the camps are primarily there for R & R and for re-supply. the war is not a set-piece battle. It is an insurgency And, in fact, they have about [redacted] insurgents whereas the Sandanistas, when they won, only had about 3,500.

So even though they're so out-gunned, in terms of technology and weaponry [redacted] in a country of 2.5 million is a hell of a big insurgency.

The [redacted] can tie up a 100,000 man army.

The Nicaraguan army is 100,000. There are nearly as many Cubans in Nicaragua as there are freedom fighters.

They need the Cubans and their tanks to keep their own people around.

If freedom is alive and well in Nicaragua, they don't need 100,000 people to try to snuff out [redacted] guerillas. Originally, during the opposition to Somoya, the people did have shotguns and pistols. Because the struggle against Somoya had been going on for several years, as a matter of fact, at the time Costa Rica was a conduit for arms to the Sandanista forces and o provide the popular uprisi and that is eventually what happened.

So the poeple are armed. In view of this, the Sandanistas have even cleared the militia, which is part of that 100,000 men under arms. And they're not fearful of providing arms to people, but they keep them under control through various survellance techniques, such as what Cubans call Sandanista Defense Committee Block Committees.

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Anybody who even begins to look like they're getting out of line is informed upon. H36922

And that's a tough apparatus to fight today in Nicaragua.

-- But, we have been in touch, because of our experience, with the entire range of the armed and the political opposition to the Contras and when Rich was talking about the [redacted] arms, he's not referring to the Mosquitas. There's 2 Mosqu groups. There's the Misura Brooklyn Rivera and Steadman Fagoth and Misurasata and then there is Misurasata, which is a combination of Sumu, Rama and _____ indians which has aobut another [redacted] men under arms, plus the [redacted] under ARDE, the thing cthat grew out of it, which is the Democratic Revolutionary Alliance, which has many arms right now, about [redacted] But I was in [redacted] in March , , and there was one guerilla leader who told me they had [redacted] ready to fight, but they needed communications, books, weapons and leadership. They're ready to fight, but they needed communciations, We sent down a military expert to judge the viability. So that when he came back, he could be part of the Congressional debate. Becuase one of the disinformation pieces they used against the freedom fighters is that they're not militarily viable.

So we sent him down to look at it. He's a former Colonel in the Canad Air Force. And he's a professor of International Relations at Boston University. He flew in Vietnam. His name is Yorkamatre. A real dynamic fellow.

But when he was down there, in fact NBC got it on film, they send an 800 man force against a 2,000 man contingent of artillery and infantry and routed them. They were getting ready to attack the camps. They took 13 casualties. 3 died. They killed 280. And routed the force entirely.

They took 180 AK47s. They took mortars, hand grenades.

See, what happens is, they get a lot of thes weapons back. And they don't have ammunition for them. They get AK47s and they don't have the ammunition for them.

What they do with their young recruits is they give them an old Spanis ball rifle, the FAL, the (old) bolt action, roll o one rifle, and his job is to go out with his rifle, and after he's had his training - you know they do give them training.

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C H U36923

They give them formation training and they give them li8ve ammunication training. It's very professionally done.

And his job is to come back with his FAL and an AK47.

And they all do it.

And then they turn their FALs back in. It goes to the next recruit.

It's like the gun we made in World War II for $2.50. It would shoot just one time. You use that to get a real gun. We dropped them by air in France.

The best I can tell, a shotgun is the best thing to use in jungle warfare.

On a very rapid fire machine gun. That's why the AK47s and the M16s are the best weapons.

The M16 fires a 22.5 caliber bullet.

I bet I could get 10,000 people to give their old shotgun to this.

Only one problem. You can't export guns for military use from the U.S.

One reason Rich and I almost feel excited about this _________, is because, on March 1, for the first time, the various opposition forces got together. They signed a document.

They've come to the realization that the opposition to the Sandanistas now is as broad, if not broader, than that which was there for Somoya.

The Miami Herald has turned around. The Washington Post has turned around.

Frank and I set up the editorial board for Arturo Crug and Alfonso Robello and we went over and it came out about the San Jose document in the headline of the lead editorial was "A Fair Offer to the Sandanistas."

$28 million is totally inadequate. (Alfonso Robello says) $14 million is doubly totally inadequate. A Hind helicopter costs well over $23 million and there's 12 of them and they're coming.

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C H 035924

__________ has said publically, so that the Sandanistas [illegible]

__________ secret radio communications in the field saying we have red-eyes. Its a big lie.

They're playing a psychological war against the Sandanistas.

The more sophisticated of the shoulder-held missles, the red-eyes. There's 2 different kinds. One that's a little less expensive and there's one that's $8,000. It can take it out.

And there was a scare about 3½ weeks ago. They called in the crews.

Texans are the most patriotic.

There really hasn't been a vehicle, almost before tonight, for a direct mechanism to them. Because it's been such delicate territory that nobody's really worked out the details on it.

I don't think that anybody who's sat with somebody at a table like this yet, it's going right there. It's buying these rounds. And its buying that missle. It's buying that boot.

Yes, this is the first.

They have lost a large portion, just because they've had to go through middle men.

There's nothing I hate worse than getting screwed. I'm scared to death any money I give to this thing is going to end up in somebodies pocket.

There isn't one dime that isn't going right into Adolfo Calero's hands. Not one dime.

I have known Adolfo Calero for roughly 2 years going on 3 years. He was jailed by the Sandnistas. He lead strikes against Somoya. He encouraged his own employees to go out on strike against Somoya.

Adolfo Calero was jailed by Somoya. But Adolfo Calerois a conservative.

Cruz is a social Democrat. He believes in a free economy but he believes in government support for a free economy which will never work. I used to work at AID and I've seen these kind.

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But the point is that the entire spectorum now is in opposition to the Sandanistas. The entire spectrum.

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They jailed 114 Social Christians a month ago. It caused them incredible harm here in Washington.

But Adolfo Calero is a conservatie. He never gave in. He never gave in to the temptation of trying to negotiate with the Sandanistas.

After the elections, after the plans for the revolution, the state of Nicaragua, tell January, 1983, 2½ years after the time for revolution, he came to Washington to lobby for aid to the Sandanista government.

Since thn I have seen him on countless occasions, he has been so tired from working on behalf of his men and this cause.

As long as we stay on top, as long as we stay in the offensive position, they will be on the way out.

those guys are down there. They've got 2,000 Soviets. They've got 6,000 Cubans. There's 2,000 ____________.

It's not a set piece battle. The thing that has changed the equation are the Russian tanks, the Russian artillery and the Russian Hind helicopters.

How long do your boots last? Maximum 3 months. Why is that?

The humid. It's wet. And because they do a lot of walking. They're not riding in trucks. there are no trucks. They walk. And over pretty rough terra

They have done a pretty good job of getting their wounded cared for. Because, psychologically, you've got to have that.

[redacted]

These are Soviet-made land mines. They have been uncovered by the guerillas, disarmed, and brought back to camp. And they're going to re-arm them and place them again against the Sandanistas.

They don't even have their own mines.

Thats similar to a claymore.

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These are raw recruits. Look at the tin can this guy has. Instead of a conteen.

There's a lot of heavy terrain. They do a lot of ambushing.

When I was there, I asked why there were so many men in the camp. i want to know how many men you have her.

He said, "5,000."

I said, "How many do you have in the field?"

"Some for medical care: some for R & R; some to be re-supplied, refitted. But most of them because we don't have even a pack for them to carry their ammunition. They don't have boots.

What's happened is, the Sandanistas started their drive for military conscription. And they thought they would get support.

Instead, they got insurrection. In several of the major cities. Major insurrections. Coordinated insurrections.

And these boys came across the border. And their mothers and fathers sent them. They said, "If you're going to fight, fight for the side that will give you a choice. And that's why they fight.

That boy could have gone to Costa Rica. But they sent him to Honduras to fight instead.

He could have gone to Costa Rica and just cooled out. They sent him to Honduras to fight.

the reality is we're on the side of the angels with all this..

The miracle that I know about is that these people that we were just talking about have the highest morale. It brings tears to your eyes to see these people.

Having surrived and even grown since last may when the aid was cut off.

And they are having to tell people, "I'm sorry you cannot join us. you cannot fight, because we cannot give you a weapon to fight with. We cannot give you boots so that you can go fight.

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There are 12 helicopters. And if there was one ready for each one of us, we're talking about $96,000.

C H 036027

Half the forces now who are in opposition to the Sandanistas would turn the other way if Americans went to fight, and we don't need Americans.

I understand there are a bunch of Americans down there.

Yes, but they're volunteer trainers. There just doing training. They're in and out.

There are no Americans.

But you don't need them.

A [redacted] man insurgency against 40,000 full time rank and file military. 60,000 are militia. So [redacted] It's the technology thats throwing the whole thing out of kilter.

It's technology of Hind helicopters, Soviet tanks and the Soviet rapid fire assault rifles that everybody on the other side has. That's what's throwing it out.

If they had enough ammunition for the AK47s and they had enough red eyes to strategically place themselves.

How can you get the red eyes? Are they readily available?

Yeah.

They're getting arms on the international market. From everybody.

[redacted]

But by the time you go through 2 or 3 wholesalers, aren't you paying 10 times the price?

They pay very carefully. They've got pretty good credit right now with the wholesalers. But it doesn't extend far enough to get the AK47 rounds they need on the red eye missles.

I would think they would be the first ones to start manufacturing AK47s.

No but they get them from [redacted] They can get the rifles, but they can't carry off the ammunition to supply the riffles.

And, there other suppliers.

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C H 036928

I'm not sure people need automatic weapons.

The insurgency has to live off the commodities available through success.

We can get you a briefing on exactly what their military needs are.

Calero wants those red eye missles. He wants boots. He wants back packs. He wants AK47 rounds which you can get on the international market. He wants communications equipment.

But $14 million could be spent in 2 months without batting an eye.

Reagan ought to forget the $14 million and start asking for a whole lot more.

The $14 million has already been appropriated by Congress. And it can be released under certain conditions stepulated by the Congress. So that's what we're stuck with.

The only reason they've succeeded so far is because of people like yourself who have provided the material support for them to keep going. And it's not just Americans.

There are [redacted] There are Central Americans who are bacing this effort.

The [redacted] have been backing this. Until it began to look like the United States might not really bother at the right time when they needed them.

Vice President Bush went to Honduras 2 weeks ago on his way back from Brazil where he attended the inaguration of the new president. [redacted]

The [redacted] need the same kind of issues. They're going to go with the winner. And yet they're hearing multiple voices out of this country. Not this administration, but this country.

They're hearing the President saying that these are Freedom Fighters, that they're our brothers and so on.

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And they're hearing someone like Michael Barnes in the Congress saying, now wait. We're not out to topple governments.

It boils down to that.

The military aid, its surprising, boils down to back packs and boots. You'd think weapons would be the most important thing on the list.

If you were about to set out anywhere from 3 to 9 months walking deep into territory, jungle, roads, mountains, rain, and so on, and you knew that you were going to gone for a long time, you would want to have a good pair of shoes, wouldn't you?

Do they have much trouble with disease in that area?

They do all right.

We were going to rendevous with some reporters who were coming to look at the bases and son.

I had to travel with Calero and a couple of the members of the directorate of the FDN plus a Mosquito fighter who had been in training there and a few others.

And we loaded up in the two vehicles.

Where were you? In Nicaragua.

Yes, in the disputed territory in Nicaragua.

And, by the way, they control an enormous amount of territory there. They are supreme there. You drive down the road and you're out of the base camp and you've been going on the road for a half an hour and you see these guys walking along the road, and they're Contra. And you wave to them.

These guys look good.

In any case, we're going up these mountain roads and I am just about fit to be tied. Because, in a jeep, 4 wheel drive, with about 6 people, even though it's a mountain road, you feel that you ought to be able to at least go pretty well forward, right?

We were going like this.

Over the side, heavy of a load and I was on the side and I was looking

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C H 036930

down there and it's about 800 feet straight down.

This was about 4,000 or 5,000 feet altitude.

Jungle.

Temperature. It's warm maybe 75-80 degrees.

This is in good weather, this is dry season. But it rains a little bit and the roads are pretty bad.

In fact, some strategist think the best thing we could do for those people would be to get them a bulldozer so they could help maintain those roads.

In any case, we were going like this, and I literally six inches from going over. Six inches. Somebody was with us.

We stopped and I got out. And I looked at the tires on that jeep. It was a Toyota. And they were literally bald. Nothing there.

And that's what they're surving with.

And I said, "why haven't you got tires?"

And they said, "Because back packes and boots are more important than tires."

We sent Nightline's crew there and they did a very positive story. We worked very hard with them to make sure we had journalists were sympathetic. And I got this call from this producer when she came back.

I said, "How was it?"

She said, "It was fine. Except the part where we were going down the hill sideways."

They were in the same jeep that he was in. They hadn't changed the tires yet because they didn't have money to change them.

There is an entire group right now of Nicaraguan exiles who've been involved in the fighting themselves. One guy who's involved is setting up the anti-Pope demonstrations where they spit on the Pope and all that stuff. And we have these guys, in Washington, and in other areas, right now, sitting on their hands. Because there hasn't been the money to pay for their airplane tickets and other things to get them out to the districts, like Jim Wright's district, and have them speak up.

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Can you imagine what the reaction would be if the people in Jim Wright's district knew what they did to the Pope down there?

How about the Baptists they hand-grenaded? We have some of those. We have some-Evangelicals who where hand-grenaded.

Let's show those on the tape.

We have been waiting for literally months. We have these people sitting, waiting, ready to go. And they could have been going earlier, but a couple people got cold feet about spending money for then to go out and do these things.

And it's a shame. Because they could have had major impact on the debate. Particlarly back in the home districts of these Congressmen and Senators that we're voting for.

C H U36931

The beauty this time is that we are on the side of the insurgency which is the first time, except Afghanistan, but we can't get close enough to see it.

But we are on the side of the insurgency.

And if we can continue, as we've been working so hard to do, to turn the media around, they will start to romanticise about these guys who are the Democrat guerillas.

We going to call it the Shotgun Drive. And we're going to get Remington to put up the amo. Dupont owns Remington.

We're going to start on CBs. We're not even going to involve the electron media until we get support or we have about 3 semis going north on Tobacco Road out of North Carolina full.

And they keep calling on another semi.

"We got an empty semi out there? Somebody got an 18-wheeler empty can come on down and help liberate Central America?"

But the organization who was in charge of putting it together utilized a Sandanista office in Managua to put together the report.

And we brought up this guy for a news conference and we had it last week and Time and Newsweek and AP and everybody reported on it. You look at Time magazine. This week's Times you'll see a little thing about a PR firm. That's us.

The point here is this U.S. Congressman stood up with people. He couldn

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. be that naive. He had to know who these people were.

He stood up with them. He had a news conference with them. And he sponsored their report. Which was clearly bought and paid for by a communist government in Managua.

Now that will scare the hill out of people.

The guy that did that Human Rights Study is a member of the National Lawyers Guild, which is a Communist front.

C H 036932

It's paid for by the Soviet Union. Literally.

I don't see how anybody in thise country could rationally be a Communist.

There are rational Communists.

The reality is that they profess views which are very left. Socialists. And yet they're very willing to accept a Communist government.

ron Dellums was a perfect example. He knew exactly what was going on in Grenada. It was fine with him.

The reality is you have the right to be concerned and you have the duty to be suspicious.

Because anybody you'd elect to that position and would even do it out of naivete, shouldn't be there.

They shouldn't be there.

Calero was so tired, he couldn't even keep his eyes open when we were speaking with him on some very important issues.

What I mean to imply by describing him in that way is that this man is commited. He does not have to undergo what he is undergoing now.

One, if he did not believe in it. Or two, if he were using what resources he is receiving for personal gain.

He would not suffer that much.

We're going to see to it that man doesn't havet to come up here and beg anymore to be able to fight for freedom.

That's what we're going to do with you is

Where is his family? In Miami.

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They're scared in Miami, frankly.

Everytime we call there, we get a call from somebody else said "why did you call?"

It's a very difficulty mentality.

Well, Alfonse Robello, one of the 3 guys who met with Reagan, was hand grenaded in San Jose in November. He heard a crash. He was driving a little Renault. He was with his fiance. He heard a crash. Renault. He was with his fiance. He stopped the car. Put it in neutral. Opened the door and turned around like that and the grenade went off.

And it blew out both his eardrums and peppered him. Bloew out his fiance's back.

C H 036933

Talk about terrorism.

They have had two attempts on Alfonse Robello. Two attempts on Eden Pastore. Two attempts on Anturo Cruz. And nobody has every tried to kill Daniel Ortega.

Nobody has ever tried to kill Byardo Arsis.

If you really want to know who has a policy of systematic violence, look to the Sandanistas.

Starlite scope. You can see at nite. Good for hundreds of yards. Made in Alabama.

This is Nicaraguans for Nicaragua. We have an indigenous, tiny force that grew up on its own accord, that matured of its own accord, and is only now.

The real reason we're here is a matter of personal conviction. There isnothing in it for us personally.

We are serving the larger and more mobile cause. That is the casue of freedom and democracy. Which we see threatened by the continuation of the Sandanist regime in Nicaragua.

It would be a shame if they won by default. If they won because thev were willing to put in the money that gave them the technology to succeed where

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where sheer numbers and sheer political force wouldn't. Thats what's so disturbing to me about it.

What bothers me is what happens after they've won. Look at all these soldiers that have to go back to being peasant farmers.

Look at what's happened in Guatemala. Look at what happened in El Salvador.

The military held that news conference in El Salvador and they said, "We in tend to back this government and the results from this election."

And that ended the argument.

C H 036934

Because heretofore they'd been the final arbitrator and here they were the preliminary arbitrator and they said, "This is fine," and that's the end of the argument.

And they put democracy on a sound footing in El Salvador.

And the same guys that are fighting now for the FDN, that's what they fought for, they're the same people who fought against Somoga! They were fighting for the same thing against Somoza that they're fighting for now. And it's democracy.

For me, the bottom line is, these are people who are willing to fight for their freedom and for democracy. So that we won't have to fight ourselves.

LULAC

People like Mario Obledo from the LULAC based in Texas, an Hispanic organization. Saw him on tv in Houston yesterday. He was going "Oh, no. we're hightening tensions and I'm afraid that our boys are going to have to go down there and fight."

Well, they damn well will fight unless we get behind the right side right now.

There are more Hispanic Medal of Honor winners than any other nationality in the United States.

They're ready to go. They're ready to fight.

AK$& sounds are a little less than $1 a round.

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A [illegible]

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DAr 16

Between now and May 1, the red eye missles could be the entire key.

Because if they succeed at this point in launching an offensive including tanks and the MI24 helicopters into that region and go for the cans...

There's 2 different kinds of red eye missles. There's one that's very unsophisticated which is just a direct shot missle. And then there's one that's able to take on the Hind because the Hind has major decoy devices, has heavy armanment and it has these fflus on the back of the exhausts from the jets - the expulsion from the engine - that mask the heat.

C H

So you have to have the $8,000 red eye to make it work.

U36935

They have flare system on the MI24s and they drop the flares out.

For one thing, there's a trade off.

If you provide money for ammunition, the money they've set aside for ammunition can go to boots.

On the other hand, if you provide money for boots, what they've set aside for boots can to ammunition.

Whatever you do in regard to that list (of Calero's needs), I think you can be proud of what service you provide for democracy. I think ultimately you can be proud to stand that day in Managua when there's a free country inagurated down there.

I'd encourage you to participate now while you can still make a differenc

That'll make a lot of difference to a lot of huys down there. I'm serious about that.

We haven't heard from you yet.

Please respond to the President's request for aid to the Nicaraguan refugees.

You tax-deductible check of $350 or more will be a miracle gift. The Nicaraguan refugees are homeless, impoverished and wounded fighters for freedom.

Once you gift arrives, your name will be immediately added to the Preside Honor Roll of Concerned Americans. We are presenting the Honor Roll to the President on the 15th of May.

UNCLASSIFIED

20 JUL 85

7/24/87 Conrad Ex. No. 7, 6/15/87, TJ

UNCLASSIFIED

C H 37561

Idea:

(#1) The idea is to have individuals give the contribution to the value of their weapon. And/or to give the contribution to the value of the rifle and to have their names put on what we might call a "Hand Held Peace Keeper." With their name on a little brass plaque and a picture sent back to the contributor of the man holding the weapon with their name on the brass plaque on it. The name of the weapon would be called the "Liberator"

☆ Get Ducks Unlimited donor list.

(#2) We will contact all the weapons manufacturers, especially those making rifles, for support for the liberators, like Remington or Winchester.

(#3) We need a thank you letter from Rich + Frank to John Ramsey. A thank you letter from Adolfo to John Ramsey. Plus a list of items they need to purchase and their cost.

Declassified/Released on 10FEB88
under provisions of E.O. 12356
by K. Johnson, National Security Council

(5201)

UNCLASSIFIED

NO DATE

TB

Rich + Frank

UNCLASSIFIED

Strategic Review:
Soldier of ~~Fortune~~:
Argus:
[illegible] Military Review:
Man in Action:
Defense Week: 638-4260
Defense Weekly: 333-4[illegible]3 Fed affairs
Military Space: 528-1244
Nat Defense Mag 533-1820
Soldiers Mag: 274-6671

1. Bunker
2. Greene
3. Group
4. Connection

[redacted] Declassified/Released on 10Feb88
under provisions of E.O. 12356
by K. Johnson, National Security Council

Dallas
Brad Burns
Lynch
Pew
Nelson
Crowley

Hickman
Hill

Greene: send thank you letter to [illegible]
-where is copy of thank you from Greene...

Patty Beck
Cullen Davis
~~Richard~~ Jim Garvey (Ft Worth)
Barbara Howell
Caroline Hunt Schoellkopf

Gilbert - NYC
-Cliff [illegible] letter
WH briefing
Richard Fox
-gave [illegible] to inauguration
-gave 5K to Kemp

- VA list on computer or use a [illegible]
  - 300 names
  - 68 names to Roger (need 150 names)
- call Smith Ferebee for briefing / Campaign mgr
  - issues are (+ pro + con)
  - SDI - 3 Cong seats lost in 82 can be regained
- appt w/ Greene for Thurs. 9/5
- send out Select 500 again / 2nd REQUEST

5199

032256

☆ -send out the oil letter ASAP

UNCLASSIFIED

21

UNCLASSIFIED

NO Date

~~Ollie:~~ how extensive is Singlaub's organization

ask Frank to be Secretary-Treasurer of Western Goals

call Jerry Huntsinger
  - who does Amer Express' direct mail
  - how many AMEX cards in Europe? - can we get the list?

Herb Harmon
  - direct mail (904) 222-4910

Intl Who's Who: 100 wealthiest people

USIA
  - CARE
  - Amer Field Svc
  - Youth for Understanding
  - Experiment for Intl Living (Brattleboro VT)
  - Jefferson Educational Fdn
  - African American Institute

David Fischer
  - Republicans Abroad

- HBR article on Pepsi Cola
- Richard Allen's firm
  - Henry Kissinger
  - Jean Kirkpatrick
- IDU: London Executive Director

5196

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under provisions of E.O. 12356
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[illegible]

McMahon #18

UNCLASSIFIED

- Bill O'Neil
  - letters w/ NIC booklet to:
    - radio stations news directors/talk show hosts
    - tv station/talk show hosts
    - newspaper editorial editor

Red Smith, Republican Senatorial Committee
Inner Circle

NY Times, Wash Post ad for telemarketing supervisor

lunch w/ Linda Fischer: Eric
- preferred lists: State where it's legal to use copies of names

Executive Services, TX?

5% list of insiders (SEC)

ME Lewis + Co. - manages Presidents Club for RNC $1,000

- copy of Peter Grace

Western Goals:

David { RR letter re: radio network
Western Goals background

draft a Casey letter for NEPL

Ed Meese follow up

get speakers for Western Goals conference

ATAC: get Dole to endorse it

~~David: give Bush file contents~~

subscribe to Defense News @ NEPL (ask Spitz for a cop

George: needs 3 new RR quotes for SDI booklet

briefing packet on Saudi arms sale to Spitz

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5/3/85

UNCLASSIFIED

To Do

1. - ads on Nicaragua (Nicaragua I)
   - develop thank you package to go to previous contrib
     - thank you letter from Spitz
     - thank you letter from Pat Buchanan
     - thank you letter from Ed Rollins
     - summary of ad placements + vote change in the House of Representatives
     - script of the ad & stills alongside

2. IDC
   - get copy of letters (A+B) on 5/6/85 (Mon.)
   - send copy to Bunker Hunt asking for permissio to use his name
   - send stationary to New Jersey

3. Victory for Virginia campaign
   - make appointment to go to Richmond to see Smith F

4. Calero
   - get list of material needs {boots, bandages, a
   - set first WH briefing date for first week in J
   - set appointment to see slide show to be viewe at briefing
   - arrange John Ramsey's trip to Nicaragua
   - set John Ramsey's fund-raiser dinner date in Wichita Falls, TX for last week in May
   - call Billy Morgan
   - call Margaret Brock
   - call Akkel Oxner

UNCLASSIFIED

5. IBS
   - appointment for Barbara Newington to meet RR

5/3/85
②

UNCLASSIFIED

6. Grow-Washington
   - make appt for lunch with Ray Hower (659-3333 for week of 5/13/85
   - get list of Washington Board of Trade members from Eric Olson

7. Nicaragua II
   - solicit Roy Haley for $25,000
   - solicit Larry Parman for $25,000
   - solicit Bunker Hunt for $25,000

8. Vice President Bush
   - make appointment to see him wk of 5/13/85
   - Craig Fuller: 456-1414
   - pull together all copies of Select 500 report

9. Edie Fraser / Tom Miner
   - arrange meeting with Larry Spivey

10. South Africa
   - get appt to see R.T. Kingman, VP Public Affairs, General Motors, Washington Office

11. Barbara Newington
   - develop memo on a.) who she is b) whats done to warrant meeting R.R.

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To Do

Nicaragu[illegible] I ads
- develop thank you package to go to previous contribut
  - thank you letter from Spitz
  - summary of ad placement
  - storyboards of the ads
  - thank you letter from Pat Buchanan [illegible]
  - thank you letter from RR .. COPY

2. IDC - JANE Smith
   - call Bunker Hunt
   - find out call dates - 25th + 26th of June

3. Victory for Virginia Campaign
   - make appt to see Smith Ferebee in Richmond, VA
   - develop list of people to solicit (outside VA)
     Durett for Gov [illegible]

Calero - Nic [illegible]
- get list of material needs (boots, bandages, etc.) [illegible]
- develop slide shows
  - social-political briefing
  - military briefing
  - Calero needs briefing
- arrange John Ramsey's fund raiser in Wichita Falls, TX
- arrange fund raisers in other parts of US
  - Billy Monger
  - Margaret Brock (213) [redacted] PRIVACY
  - Akki Ochsner
- solicit Mr. Gaylord, owns newspaper chain in Okla City or ?

5. IBC
   - appt for Barbara Newington to meet RR 6/20
   - Republican House-Senate Dinner list
   - Baly Museum Dinner list
   - Calero picture
   - Conservative Conference, white paper
   - Jacques Chirac, Mayor of Paris

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⑦

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- Cuban mailing list
- letter to Jean Kirkpatrick, Honorary Chair of ACT
- appt. to see Charlton Heston
- go see Reagan '84 campaign ads
- progress on Nicaraguan vote
- WH briefing #3: July 18 or 19

6. Grow Washington
   - develop a position paper
   - appt w/ Ray Hower (659-3333)
   - go see Realtors PAC
   - go see Board of Trade PAC
   - develop mailing lists
   - appt. w/ Jimmy Whitehead
   - ask Pearl Bailey to be Honorary Chair

7. Nicaragua II ads
   - Solicit contributors for $25,000
     - Roy Haley (send copy of Nic I + II ads on VHS)
     - Larry Parmen
     - Bunker Hunt
     - Langhorn Washburn (develop briefing packet)
   - send Lloyd Unsell, IPAA, schedule of ads

8. Vice President George Bush
   - call Craig Fuller (456-1414)
   - summary of Select 500 responses
   - send out new Select 500 survey
   - develop a position paper on Bush Forums ~~meetings/conference~~

9. South Africa
   - appt. w/ R T Kingman, VP Public Affairs, Gen Motors, DC off
   - develop slide show outlining plan
   - develop list of companies to see
   - appt w/ Ambassador before he leaves (Fourie)
   - memo (background) from Frank Gomez

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10. Barbara Newington
   - develop memo on her background

11. Jamaica
   - give Small check to Tom Evans
   - get info on Jamaica + Intl Youth Conference
   - get thank you letter from Campbell for Congress
   - get thank you letter from Tom Evans for Campbell

12. Freedom Spots
   - write solicitation letter
   - develop list of prospects
      - Roe Foundation
      - Justin Dart, Jr
      - J. Peter Dunston, VP Martin Marietta Corp
      - Whittle Johnston, Charlottesville, VA
   - get endorsement letter from RR
   - develop scripts

13. Oil Spots
   - write solicitation letter
   - get endorsement letter from Lloyd Unsell, IPAA
   - send $10,000 contribution to Lloyd Unsell, IPAA

14. John Roberts
   - letter from RR
   - RR to address Conservative Conference sponsored by ACT
   - Nicaraguan refugees / WH briefings
   - ~~Barbara Newington to meet RR~~
   - send report on Nicaragua II ads

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④

15. Administration
- call-Rick Segal, Barnes Morris + Pardoe 463-3200
- go see building next to Lyn Nofziger
- hire researcher
- sell Olivetti machines
- sell photocopy machines
- buy computers
- develop list of previous contributors
- develop master list of prospects
- arrange test w/Chris Littledale + Co
- Tad Hillman letter
- develop color portfolio/folder from Colad-Jones

UNCLASSIFIED

1/8/86

Jan 20 - Feb 5
Bunker's $237.5 on Mon
Green's $400K on Tues
Bob + Adam Goodman mtg

Sasakawa (87)

Gene (in Philadelphia) is name ________
adv (Jeff Bell) RR '76 campaign against Ford

Roger Ailes
(Manhattan)

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1/13/86 Green:

[redacted]

Fawn: status on WH staff briefing

- Spitz: list additions
  - Select 500 additions

"stein"
- Arthur Finkelstein (Ron)
  (914) 591-8142
  16 N. Astor
  Irvington NY 10533
  AJF + Assoc.

(National) - 20 questions: $1,000 per questions
(Week) - 300 interviews per district
- 60 questions
$10K per district

- GREEN Shopping List due 1/15/86

UNCLASSIFIED

6/3/86

UNCLASSIFIED [illegible]

To Do

- Green: call Bruce Hooper re: $100K + how it will be used
- Norman Braeman: not returning calls; promised $5K for Nicaragua
- Bill O'Boyle: Jane called + got no return call + called twice (couldn't get an appt.)
- Bill Greaves
- Curt Herge
- George Biondi
- Steve McMahon

~~Charlie Blakemore:~~
- Fortress USSR via Federal Express
- ~~computer print out~~

Bill Forlenza
- Western Goals: Voice of Conservativism
  - send proposal via Fed Express

- IBC - develop a plan for ACT/NEPL PR ~~self~~-sufficiency in 15 [illegible]
- [illegible] next Thurs. 6/12/86
- send To Do lists to Rich + David
- $50K into 1? Senate acct: Lyn Nofziger
- prepare a memo for Abrahamson
- Sony dictating machine phone adaptor

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2/6/86

UNCLASSIFIED

CAFP

63 target: swing votes

issues:

- military viability
- image prob (human rights; are they unified?)

spokespeople

- UNO members or liason group members
  - TX
  - FL
  - MO
  - MS
  - KY
  - NC
  - SC
- Creoles scheduled in Feb (persecuted); targeted in NC + SC
- ⇒ problem: availability of English-speaking Nicaraguans

labor
business
religious

2/18-21 : Calero available

Honduras: Smith, Riggs report

Q- when will Pres announce?
- next satellite distribution?
- news bureau?

Human Rights Report: call Elliott Abrams ASAP

satellite feeds from Managua by 2/15
film due 2/17
work up an elite press package
news bureau @ Steve's office
invite contributors to press events
NEPL press conference

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-4/86

UNCLASSIFIED

To Do

Green: Kris re-assignment: National Guard
~~Spitz: vacation policy~~
~~Elliott Abrams: CA trip; Eli Jacobs, [illegible] mtg on 3/6~~
~~Mrs. Giddens: Jim Hulbert update~~
~~Cassidy Assoc to coordinate w/ CDH staff~~ 30
~~dictating machine from Angela~~
~~Call Terry Dolan~~
~~Linda Quell~~
~~Jim McAvoy~~
~~Green: shopping list~~
NAB: Jim Hulbert, Mrs. Giddens
Peter Grace spot: Steve Cook
Norman Braman: Wash On-Line (Miami)
~~Edie Fraser: letter writing campaign~~
mrs. Giddens: dinner w/ Green next wk
Venice: Evelina /Camicheria

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Back to Office ASAP

Bass Brothers: Green

Lawn: Green's Tues schedule

395-2000
shopping list on Mon. nite

Elliott: Mon: call Harper

[illegible]
Smiley Ratliff
Grundy, VA

Conservative fdns list

Albert @ Suissa
19th + M

---

call Amb Philip Sanchez

---

amb Sorzano
4pm.
1000 Thomas Jefferson St
ste 601
"M+K"

Tom Korologus
Democrat lobbyist

have they discussed this fee yet?

UNCLASSIFIED

3/19/85 UNCLASSIFIED Conrad Ex. No. 3 6/10/87, T.S.

Stu Spencer

Amer for Freedom + Fairness purposes / film lectures service
1. develop public policy support; grass roots support (US based PR)
2. non-mercenary needs
   - health care
   - direct to FDN (adolfo Calero)

speaking tour
cassettes
films
magazines

C H 029143

-get dates of statements by PR on Nic + contra

Reagan Bush lists in the south
corp lists for inauguration
59¢ → $3.00.

need a letter from Calero
- asking AFF for help
- saying AFF is a great group

$12-15K/mo
$15-20K/mo
$30K/mo = mailing, phone, stamps, etc

goal: $10 M to FDN
-$4 M needed for admin, legal, fund raising

UNCLASSIFIED

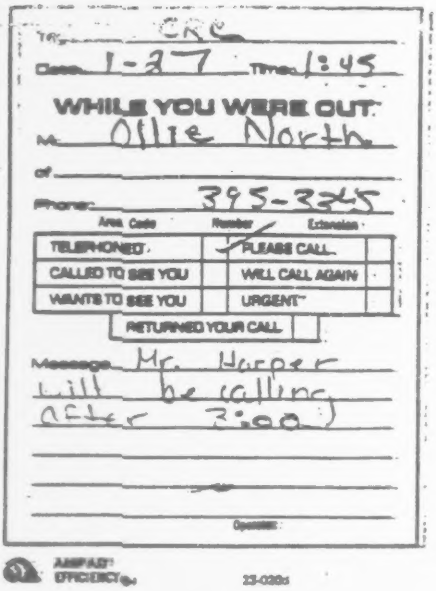
Conrad Ex. 12, 6/11/87, 909

C H 041499

Fund Raisers Meeting-May 23, 1986

Ronald Reagan received over sixty percent of the vote. But we are to do is use that as one of the keys. Don't forget this is not a election campaign. This is an influence campaign. You are seeking to influence people to support the President's full funding needs and a key element of this influence is education. As to the threat the Communist pose if is not funded correctly. We may have an opportunity to move a lot of this into an election position. For instance we are in the process right now of finding out what are the contested races in those districts where the President got over sixty percent of the vote. What the position of the incumbent is as well as the challenger. If the incumbent is week on SDI and the challenger is strong on SDI and the voting population strong on SDI our saturation educational ads cannot but help Republican challenge. So when these people give us $30,000.00 and our ads cost $35,000.00 day around the country they are in many districts literally giving a political contribution to support President Reagan's congressional candidates. They are giving us $30,000.00 to support a challenger candidate in these districts. That is an incredible incentive for these people to give. Because we are picking the issue that is popular with the population, an issue that is popular with the President in an area where the congressman may not be supporting the President as much as the people want, being that it is an election year by hyping this issue and bringing it up and highlighting the fact by implication that the challenger supports this issue. We are really going to be giving a $30,000.00 plus contribution to these challenger candidates. Now, you might say that to someone who is a political freak and they'll go hm, never thought you could do that and the answer to that is look Mr. Jones this woman is trying to sell cookies in Reno she doesn't to many people she can't get her message out. If you put a message on television talking about how good chocolate chip cookies are general and saturate it, these people are going to start connecting her, the person who makes them with the desire to have them and you are definitely going to help her business. This is an incredibly subtle political benefit to every single Republican challenger and I don't know how you say this without getting burned on the telephone, but you can just say I want to tell you what another way to look at this whole campaign. We are taking an issue that the American people support. We are advancing this issue in congressional districts where the American people strongly support the President and encouraging that incumbent to support the President. If that incumbent doesnot support the President, what is actually going to happen is the challenger candidate is going to benefit imeasurely from our activities because the challenger position and the population position are become well known to each other through the medium of our television message. On the other hand the fact that we are hyping this issue and the incumbent doesnot support the President will definitely highlight the difference between the incumbent and his constituents. This is an incredible political benefit to every single Republican running for office. It is essentially a $30,000.00 contribution to these challengers' campaign with the finest issue that Ronald Reagan has in the country today. So there are many people who love politics and this is a very good way to appeal to them. It is also tax deductible and they don't have to stop. There are four districts in the state of Texas where there are four media markets where we want this. These people can give $120,000.00 if they want to hype this issue in those districts. We have a fabulous election opportunity in Louisiana. I don't know what the position of the two people is, your book should tell you. But we have an incredible opportunity because the people of Louisiana are extremely supportive of the President. We might want to spend a million dollars on education in Louisiana. Then get the challenger to come after the primary is over in September whenever it is and say that one the reasons why he won is because of the vast strong support of President Reagan's SDI and that will make the Democratic Party go wild. It will strength the President's SDI tremedously, so there are inumerable benefits from this program and people can understand that they are getting politically on the strongest issue the President has in areas where the people support him to expose incumbents positions against their constituents. You have got a very strong political ad right here and you have not mentioned meeting with the President of the U.S. once. You are virtually insuring that SDI is going to become a major issue in the campaign. Which is the strongest of the President's suits, strongest of the Republican Party's suit, it is security, it is family, it is national defense.

(You just can't call them up and say you are going to give this money and this going to be a political contribution. You don't start that way. You know there are two sides to every person, you can look in the front or the back, the same person. But the impact of saying to someone like Harry Lucas, Barbara Newington or Ellen Garwood or Mel Salwasser, or Salvatori or inumerable political crazys is that we are going to give you an opportunity to give $30,000.00 tax deductible political contribution and we want to tell you how to do it. I mean they may say oh I am not going to do that, but they will listen. They will be very curious and then when you talk about the fact that this is where the President's residual strength is, this is where the battles are, this is where we have the greatest opportunity to win and this amounts to a $30,000.00 political contribution. You don't have to stop there. We can carry our messages right on through the election and you can deduct every penny you pay for it.)



To: CRC

Date: 1-27 Time: 1:45

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M: Ollie North

of:

Phone: 395-3245

Area Code Number Extension

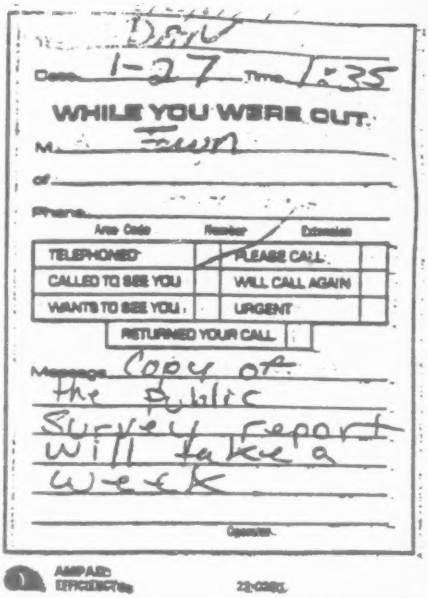
TELEPHONED	☑	PLEASE CALL	☐
CALLED TO SEE YOU	☐	WILL CALL AGAIN	☐
WANTS TO SEE YOU	☐	URGENT	☐

RETURNED YOUR CALL ☐

Message: Mr. Harper will be calling after 3:00)

Operator:

AMPAD® EFFICIENCY® 23-020



To: Dan

Date: 1-27 Time: 1:35

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M: Fawn

of:

Phone:

Area Code Number Extension

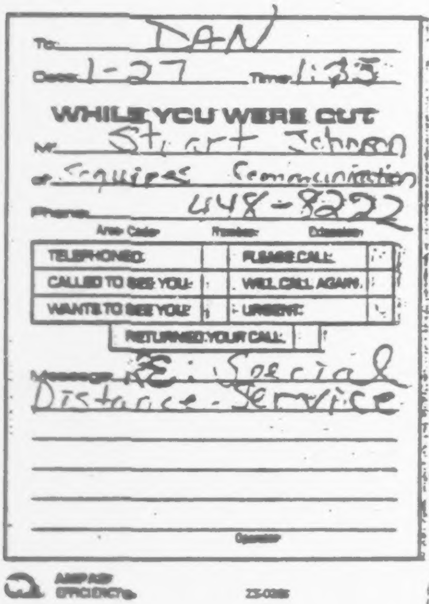
TELEPHONED	☑	PLEASE CALL	☐
CALLED TO SEE YOU	☐	WILL CALL AGAIN	☐
WANTS TO SEE YOU	☐	URGENT	☐

RETURNED YOUR CALL ☐

Message: Copy of the Public Survey report will take a week

Operator:

AMPAD® EFFICIENCY® 23-020



To: DAN

Date: 1-27 Time: 1:35

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M: Stuart Johnson

of: Squires Communication

Phone: 448-8222

Area Code Number Extension

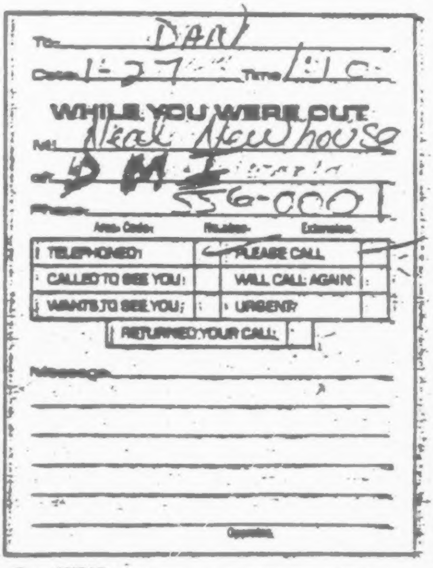
TELEPHONED	☐	PLEASE CALL	☐
CALLED TO SEE YOU	☐	WILL CALL AGAIN	☐
WANTS TO SEE YOU	☐	URGENT	☐

RETURNED YOUR CALL ☐

Message: RE: Special Distance Service

Operator:

AMPAD® EFFICIENCY® 23-020



To: DAN

Date: 1-27 Time: 1:10

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M: Neal Newhouse

of: DMI [illegible]

Phone: 556-0001

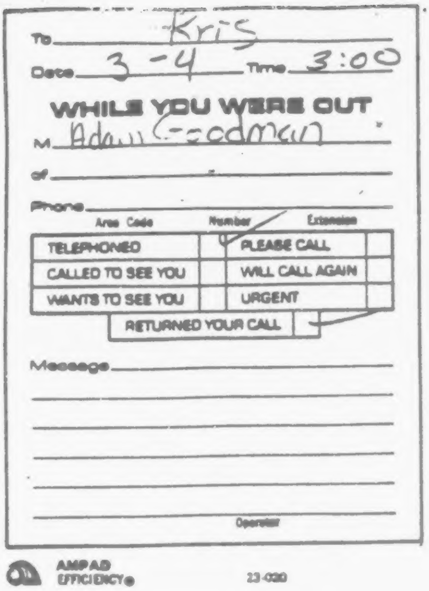
Area Code Number Extension

TELEPHONED	☑	PLEASE CALL	☑
CALLED TO SEE YOU	☐	WILL CALL AGAIN	☐
WANTS TO SEE YOU	☐	URGENT	☐

RETURNED YOUR CALL ☐

Message:

Operator:



To Kris
Date 3-4 Time 3:00

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M Adam Goodman
of
Phone
Area Code Number Extension

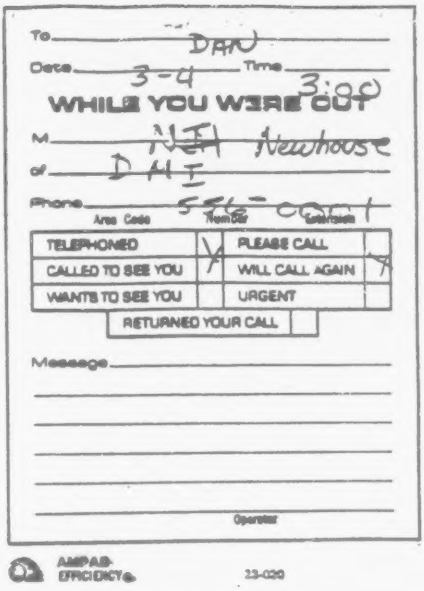
TELEPHONED	☑	PLEASE CALL	☐
CALLED TO SEE YOU	☐	WILL CALL AGAIN	☐
WANTS TO SEE YOU	☐	URGENT	☐

RETURNED YOUR CALL ☐

Message

Operator

AMPAD EFFICIENCY® 23-020



To DAN
Date 3-4 Time 3:00

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M ~~NEI~~ Newhouse
of DHI
Phone 556-0001
Area Code Number Extension

TELEPHONED	☒	PLEASE CALL	☐
CALLED TO SEE YOU	☐	WILL CALL AGAIN	☒
WANTS TO SEE YOU	☐	URGENT	☐

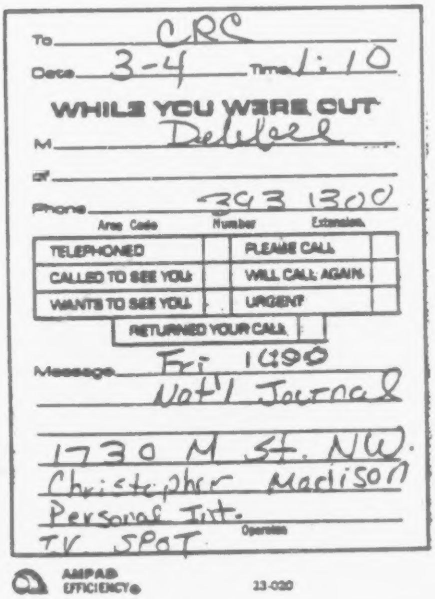
RETURNED YOUR CALL ☐

Message

Operator

AMPAD EFFICIENCY® 23-020

CH 2158



To CRC
Date 3-4 Time 1:10

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M Delelee
of
Phone 393 1300
Area Code Number Extension

TELEPHONED	☐	PLEASE CALL	☐
CALLED TO SEE YOU	☐	WILL CALL AGAIN	☐
WANTS TO SEE YOU	☐	URGENT	☐

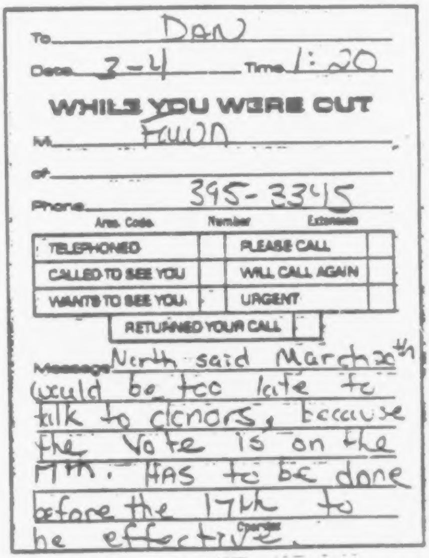
RETURNED YOUR CALL ☐

Message Fri 1400
Nat'l Journal

1730 M St. NW.
Christopher Madison
Personal Int.
TV SPOT

Operator

AMPAD EFFICIENCY® 23-020



To DAN
Date 3-4 Time 1:20

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

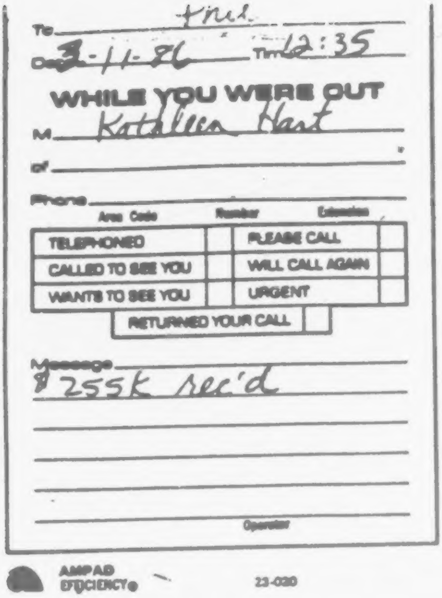
M Fawn
of
Phone 395-3345
Area Code Number Extension

TELEPHONED	☐	PLEASE CALL	☐
CALLED TO SEE YOU	☐	WILL CALL AGAIN	☐
WANTS TO SEE YOU	☐	URGENT	☐

RETURNED YOUR CALL ☐

Message North said March 20th would be too late to talk to donors, because the vote is on the 17th. Has to be done before the 17th to be effective.

Operator



To: Fred
Date: 3-11-86 Time: 12:35

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

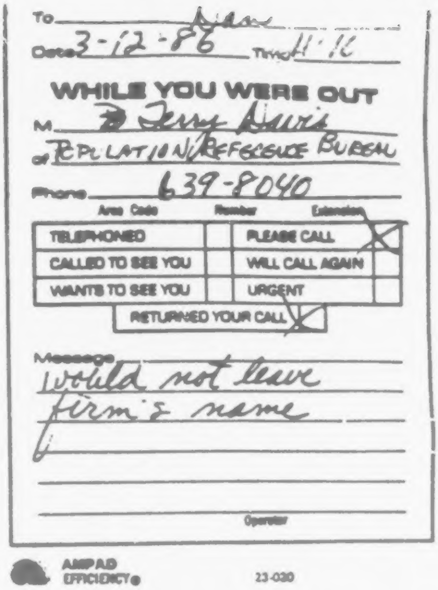
M: Kathleen Hart
of:
Phone:
Area Code Number Extension

TELEPHONED	☐	PLEASE CALL	☐
CALLED TO SEE YOU	☐	WILL CALL AGAIN	☐
WANTS TO SEE YOU	☐	URGENT	☐
		RETURNED YOUR CALL	☐

Message: $255K rec'd

Operator

AMPAD EFFICIENCY® 23-030



To: Diane
Date: 3-12-86 Time: 11:16

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M: Terry Davis
of: POPULATION REFERENCE BUREAU
Phone: 639-8040
Area Code Number Extension

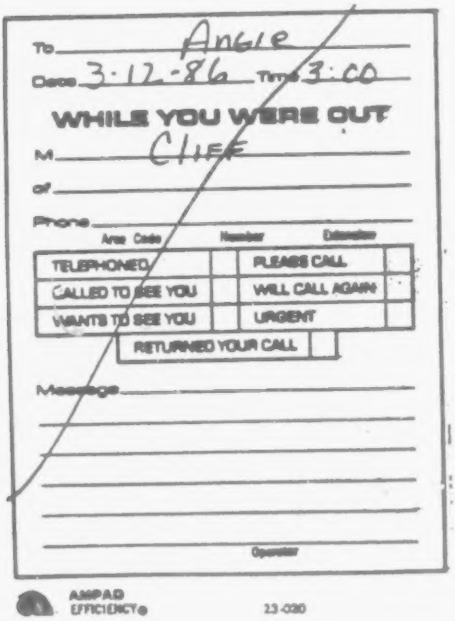
TELEPHONED	☐	PLEASE CALL	☒
CALLED TO SEE YOU	☐	WILL CALL AGAIN	☐
WANTS TO SEE YOU	☐	URGENT	☐
		RETURNED YOUR CALL	☒

Message: would not leave firm's name

Operator

AMPAD EFFICIENCY® 23-030

CH 2077



To: Angie
Date: 3-12-86 Time: 3:00

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

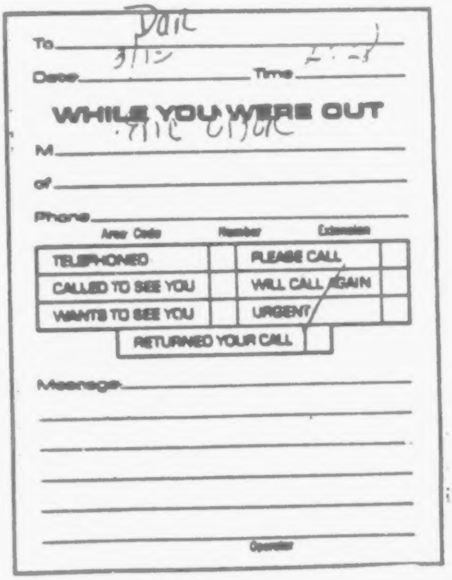
M: Cliff
of:
Phone:
Area Code Number Extension

TELEPHONED	☐	PLEASE CALL	☐
CALLED TO SEE YOU	☐	WILL CALL AGAIN	☐
WANTS TO SEE YOU	☐	URGENT	☐
		RETURNED YOUR CALL	☐

Message:

Operator

AMPAD EFFICIENCY® 23-030



To: Dale
Date: 3/12 Time: [illegible]

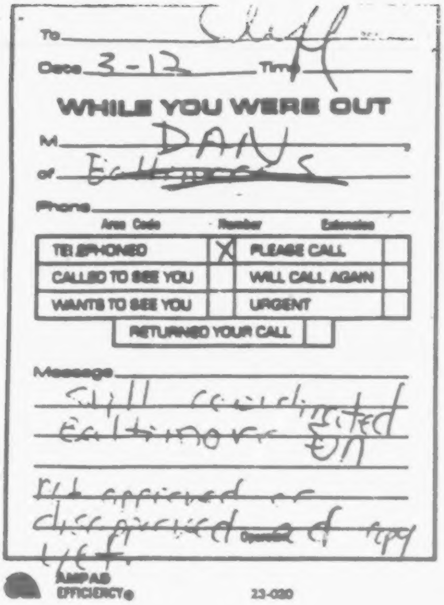
WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M: [illegible]
of:
Phone:
Area Code Number Extension

TELEPHONED	☐	PLEASE CALL	☐
CALLED TO SEE YOU	☐	WILL CALL AGAIN	☐
WANTS TO SEE YOU	☐	URGENT	☐
		RETURNED YOUR CALL	☐

Message:

Operator



To Cliff
Date 3-12 Time

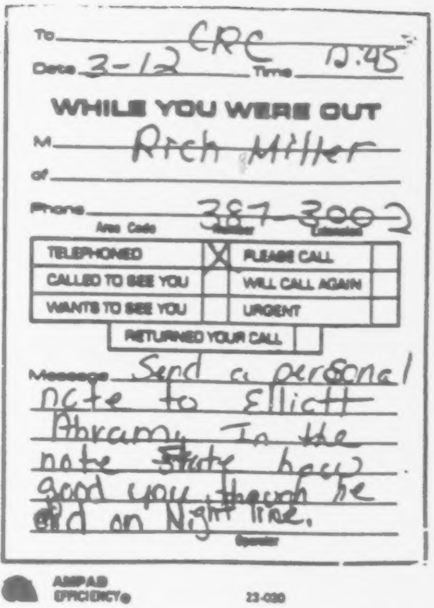
WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M DAN
of Baltimore's
Phone
Area Code Number Extension

TELEPHONED	☒	PLEASE CALL	☐
CALLED TO SEE YOU	☐	WILL CALL AGAIN	☐
WANTS TO SEE YOU	☐	URGENT	☐
RETURNED YOUR CALL	☐		

Message Still coordinated Baltimore edited
ED
Rich approved or
disapproved of copy
yet.
Operator

AMPAD EFFICIENCY® 23-020



To CRC
Date 3-12 Time 12:45

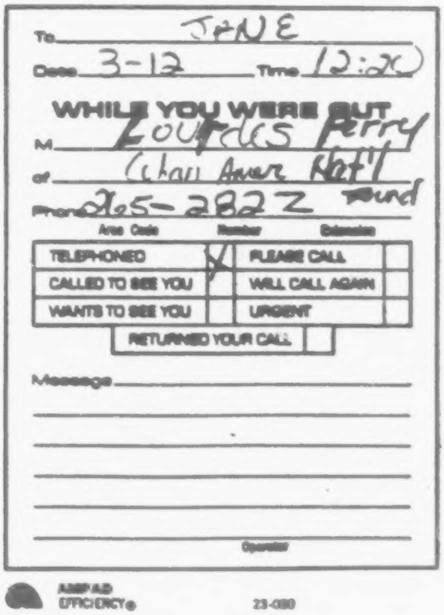
WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M Rich Miller
of
Phone 387-3002
Area Code Number Extension

TELEPHONED	☒	PLEASE CALL	☐
CALLED TO SEE YOU	☐	WILL CALL AGAIN	☐
WANTS TO SEE YOU	☐	URGENT	☐
RETURNED YOUR CALL	☐		

Message Send a personal
note to Elliott
Abrams. In the
note state how
good you thought he
did on Nightline.
Operator

AMPAD EFFICIENCY® 23-020



To JANE
Date 3-12 Time 12:20

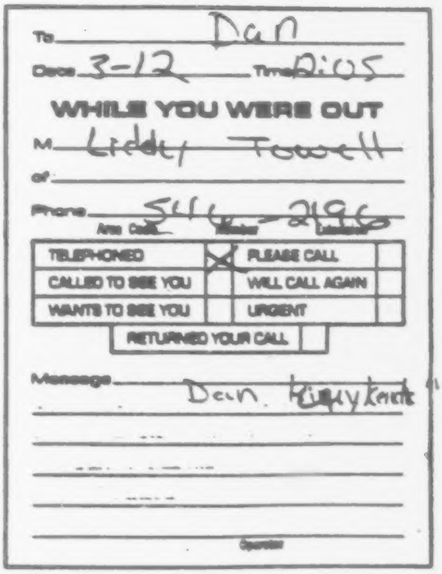
WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M Lourdes Perry
of Cuban Amer Nat'l Fund
Phone 265-2822
Area Code Number Extension

TELEPHONED	☒	PLEASE CALL	☐
CALLED TO SEE YOU	☐	WILL CALL AGAIN	☐
WANTS TO SEE YOU	☐	URGENT	☐
RETURNED YOUR CALL	☐		

Message
Operator

AMPAD EFFICIENCY® 23-020



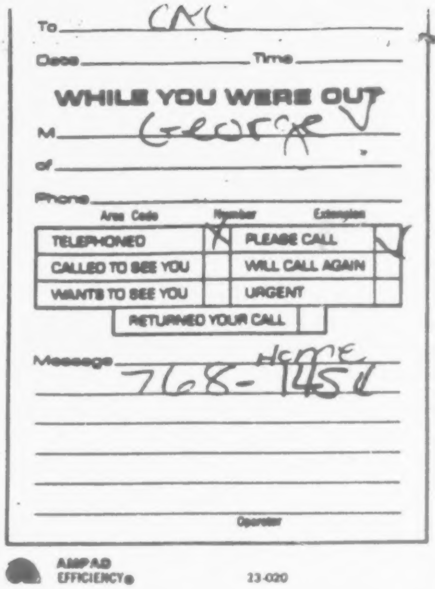
To Dan
Date 3-12 Time 2:05

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M Liddy Towell
of
Phone 544-2196
Area Code Number Extension

TELEPHONED	☒	PLEASE CALL	☐
CALLED TO SEE YOU	☐	WILL CALL AGAIN	☐
WANTS TO SEE YOU	☐	URGENT	☐
RETURNED YOUR CALL	☐		

Message Dan Kuykendall
Operator



To CRC

Date ______ Time ______

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M George V

of

Phone

Area Code Number Extension

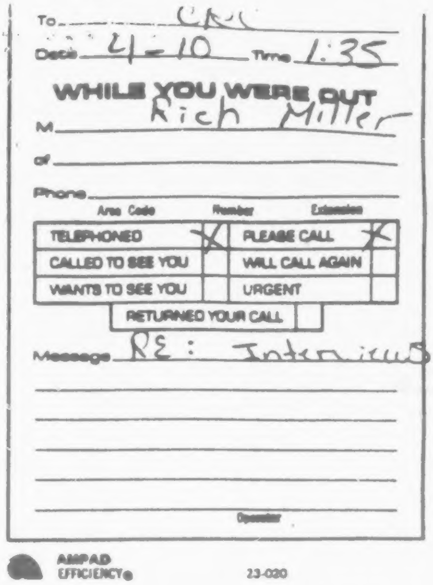
TELEPHONED	☒	PLEASE CALL	☑
CALLED TO SEE YOU	☐	WILL CALL AGAIN	☐
WANTS TO SEE YOU	☐	URGENT	☐

RETURNED YOUR CALL ☐

Message Home
768-1456

Operator

AMPAD EFFICIENCY® 23-020



To CRC

Date 4-10 Time 1:35

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M Rich Miller

of

Phone

Area Code Number Extension

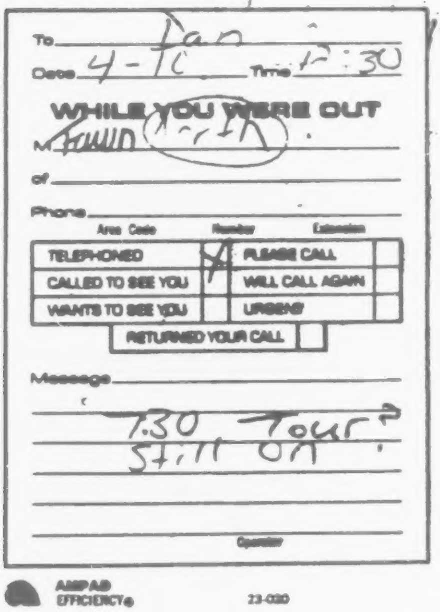
TELEPHONED	☒	PLEASE CALL	☒
CALLED TO SEE YOU	☐	WILL CALL AGAIN	☐
WANTS TO SEE YOU	☐	URGENT	☐

RETURNED YOUR CALL ☐

Message RE: Interviews

Operator

AMPAD EFFICIENCY® 23-020



To Dan

Date 4-10 Time 12:30

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M Erwin [illegible]

of

Phone

Area Code Number Extension

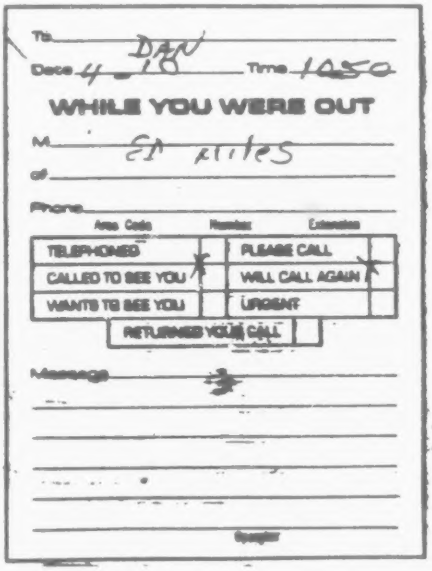
TELEPHONED	☒	PLEASE CALL	☐
CALLED TO SEE YOU	☐	WILL CALL AGAIN	☐
WANTS TO SEE YOU	☐	URGENT	☐

RETURNED YOUR CALL ☐

Message
7:30 Tour?
Still on?

Operator

AMPAD EFFICIENCY® 23-020



To DAN

Date 4-10 Time 1050

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M Ed Miles

of

Phone

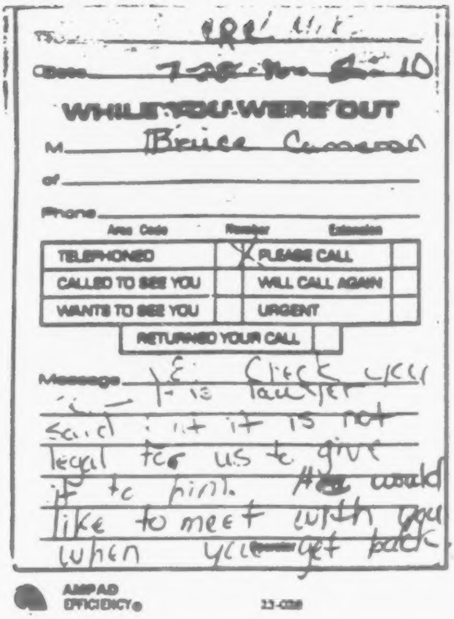
Area Code Number Extension

TELEPHONED	☒	PLEASE CALL	☒
CALLED TO SEE YOU	☐	WILL CALL AGAIN	☐
WANTS TO SEE YOU	☐	URGENT	☐

RETURNED YOUR CALL ☐

Message

Operator



To [illegible]

Date 7-28-[illegible] 10

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M Bruce Cameron

of

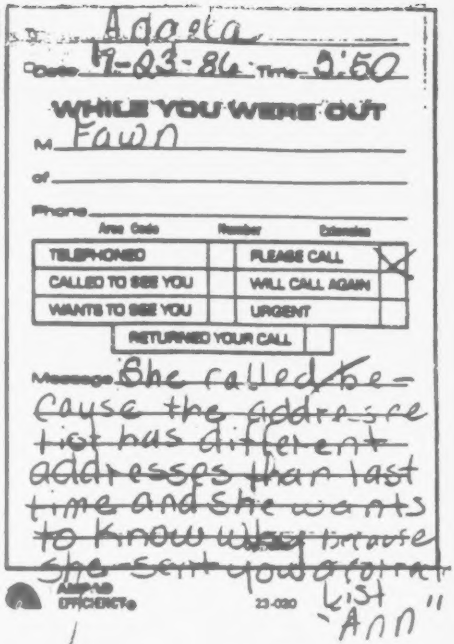
Phone

Area Code Number Extension

TELEPHONED	☒	PLEASE CALL	☐
CALLED TO SEE YOU	☐	WILL CALL AGAIN	☐
WANTS TO SEE YOU	☐	URGENT	☐
RETURNED YOUR CALL	☐		

Message [illegible] Clark [illegible] his lawyer said that it is not legal for us to give it to him. He would like to meet with you when you get back.

AMPAD EFFICIENCY® 23-020



To Angela

Date 9-23-86 Time 2:50

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M Fawn

of

Phone

Area Code Number Extension

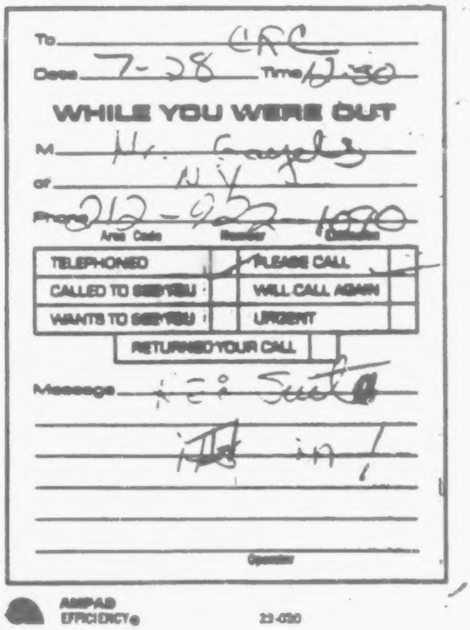
TELEPHONED	☐	PLEASE CALL	☒
CALLED TO SEE YOU	☐	WILL CALL AGAIN	☐
WANTS TO SEE YOU	☐	URGENT	☐
RETURNED YOUR CALL	☐		

Message ~~She called because the address list has different addresses than last time and she wants to know why~~ because ~~she sent you a correct~~ list

"Ann"

AMPAD EFFICIENCY® 23-020

CH 1791



To CRC

Date 7-28 Time ~~12:30~~

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M ~~Mr. [illegible]~~

of N.Y.T.

Phone ~~212-922-1000~~

Area Code Number Extension

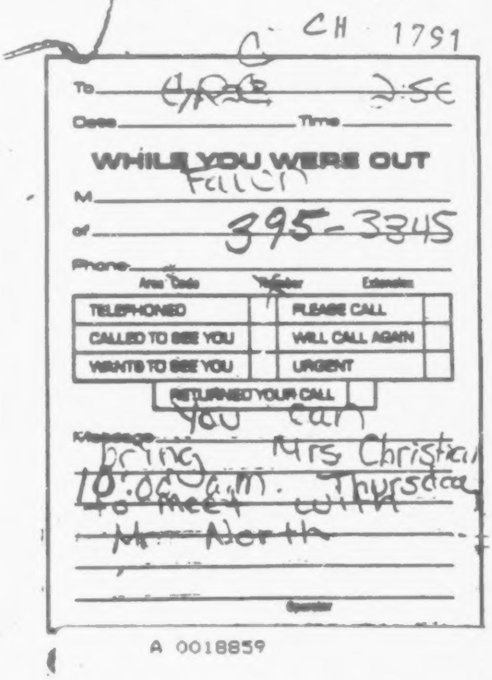
TELEPHONED	☐	PLEASE CALL	☒
CALLED TO SEE YOU	☐	WILL CALL AGAIN	☐
WANTS TO SEE YOU	☐	URGENT	☐
RETURNED YOUR CALL	☐		

Message ~~KEI Suit~~

it's in!

Operator

AMPAD EFFICIENCY® 23-020



To ~~CRC~~ 2:50

Date Time

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M Fawn

of 395-3345

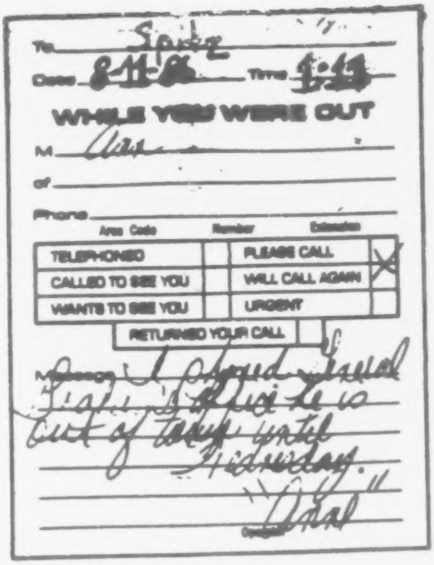
Phone

Area Code Number Extension

TELEPHONED	☐	PLEASE CALL	☐
CALLED TO SEE YOU	☐	WILL CALL AGAIN	☐
WANTS TO SEE YOU	☐	URGENT	☐
RETURNED YOUR CALL	☐		

Message You can bring Mrs Christian 10:00 a.m. Thursday ~~to meet with Mr. North~~

Operator



To: Spike
Date: 8-11-[illegible] Time: [illegible]

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M: Ann
of:
Phone:
Area Code Number Extension

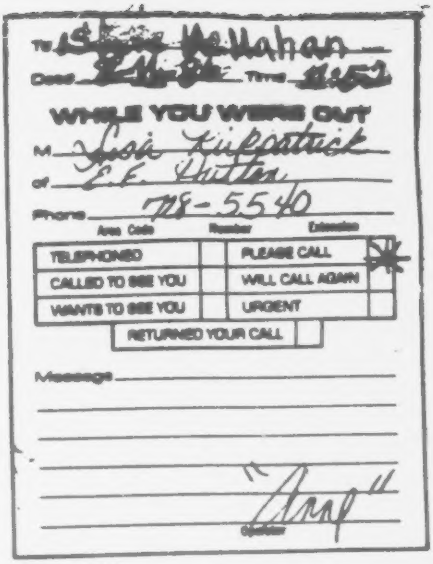
TELEPHONED	☐	PLEASE CALL	☒
CALLED TO SEE YOU	☐	WILL CALL AGAIN	☐
WANTS TO SEE YOU	☐	URGENT	☐

RETURNED YOUR CALL ☐

Message: I phoned General Teater's office he is out of town until Wednesday.

"Dial"
Operator

AMPAD EFFICIENCY® 23-020



To: [illegible] Mellahan
Date: [illegible] Time: [illegible]

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M: Lisa Kirkpatrick
of: E.F. Hutton
Phone: 778-5540
Area Code Number Extension

TELEPHONED	☐	PLEASE CALL	☒
CALLED TO SEE YOU	☐	WILL CALL AGAIN	☐
WANTS TO SEE YOU	☐	URGENT	☐

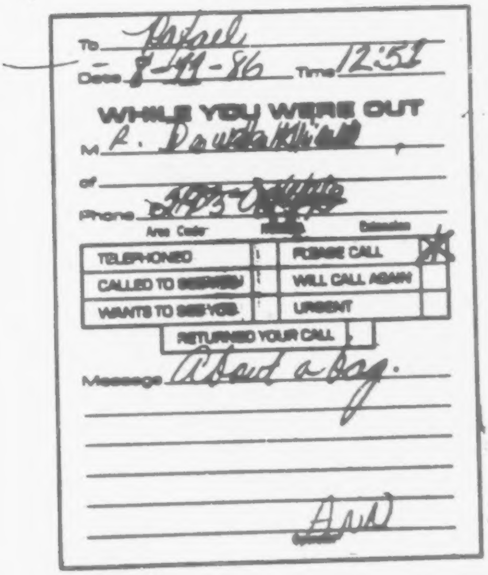
RETURNED YOUR CALL ☐

Message:

"Ann"
Operator

AMPAD EFFICIENCY® 23-020

CH 1642



To: Rafael
Date: 8-11-86 Time: 12:58

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M: R. Dowd[illegible]
of:
Phone: [illegible]
Area Code Number Extension

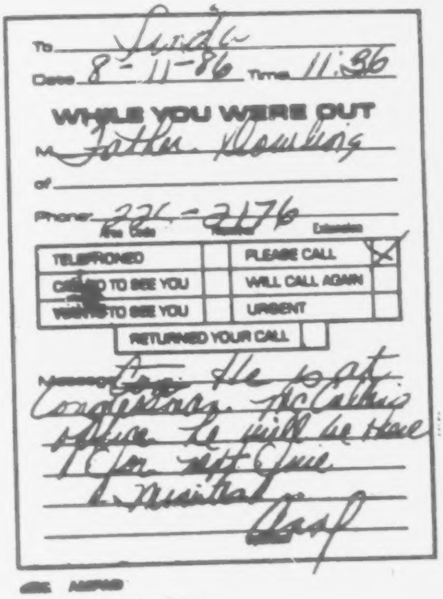
TELEPHONED	☐	PLEASE CALL	☒
CALLED TO SEE YOU	☐	WILL CALL AGAIN	☐
WANTS TO SEE YOU	☐	URGENT	☐

RETURNED YOUR CALL ☐

Message: About a day.

Ann
Operator

AMPAD EFFICIENCY® 23-020



To: Linda
Date: 8-11-86 Time: 11:36

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M: Father Dowling
of:
Phone: 226-2176
Area Code Number Extension

TELEPHONED	☐	PLEASE CALL	☒
CALLED TO SEE YOU	☐	WILL CALL AGAIN	☐
WANTS TO SEE YOU	☐	URGENT	☐

RETURNED YOUR CALL ☐

Message: Gen. He is at Congressman McCarthy's office he will be here 1 E for 1st Clinic & visitation.

Ann
Operator

AMPAD

To Cliff

Date ____ Time ____

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M CRC

of ____

Phone ____
Area Code Number Extension

TELEPHONED	☐	PLEASE CALL	☐
CALLED TO SEE YOU	☐	WILL CALL AGAIN	☐
WANTS TO SEE YOU	☐	URGENT	☐
RETURNED YOUR CALL	☐		

Rec't 8:15 Devon [illegible]

Message Check for Restored Bldgs
Green for
100,000 in

Operator

AMPAD EFFICIENCY® 23-021 CARBONLESS

To CRC

Date 9-16 Time 1154.

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M Fawn

of ____

Phone ____
Area Code Number Extension

TELEPHONED	☒	PLEASE CALL	☐
CALLED TO SEE YOU	☐	WILL CALL AGAIN	☐
WANTS TO SEE YOU	☐	URGENT	☐
RETURNED YOUR CALL	☐		

Message He left you message
PH? and copy of Dole
letter

[illegible] her to
[illegible] until
you [illegible]

Operator

AMPAD EFFICIENCY® 23-021 CARBONLESS

H 1473

To Cliff

Date 9-17-86 Time 12:19

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M Nancy Ransom

of Cong Bateman

Phone 223-3623
Area Code Number Extension

TELEPHONED	☐	PLEASE CALL	☒
CALLED TO SEE YOU	☐	WILL CALL AGAIN	☐
WANTS TO SEE YOU	☐	URGENT	☐
RETURNED YOUR CALL	☐		

Message 9-25-86
Fundraiser (Wants to
know if you will attend
fund raiser.

Ann
Operator

AMPAD EFFICIENCY® 23-021 CARBONLESS

#15C

To Gus or Spitz

Date 9-17-86 Time 12:07

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M Edwin R. Neisl

of ____

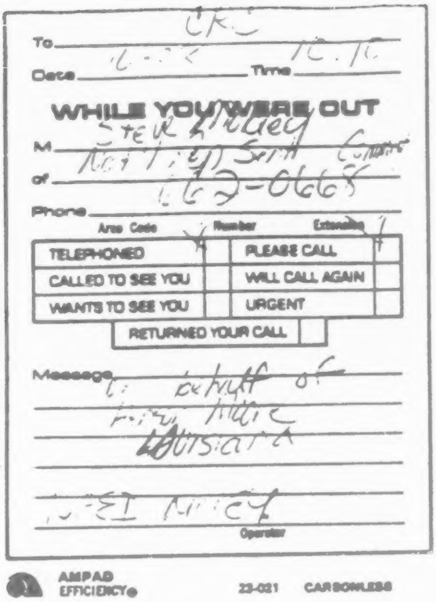
Phone 516-626-0252
Area Code Number Extension

TELEPHONED	☐	PLEASE CALL	☒
CALLED TO SEE YOU	☐	WILL CALL AGAIN	☐
WANTS TO SEE YOU	☐	URGENT	☐
RETURNED YOUR CALL	☐		

Message ____

Operator

AMPAD EFFICIENCY®



To CRC
Date 10-27 Time 10.10

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M Steve Hickey
of Nat'l Rep. Senat. Comm.
Phone 662-0668
Area Code Number Extension

TELEPHONED	☒	PLEASE CALL	☒
CALLED TO SEE YOU	☐	WILL CALL AGAIN	☐
WANTS TO SEE YOU	☐	URGENT	☐

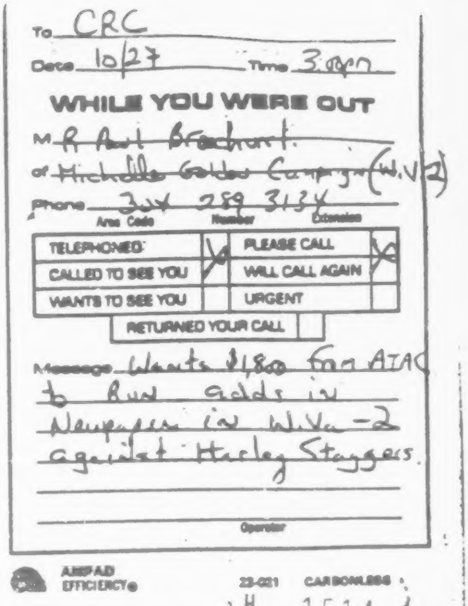
RETURNED YOUR CALL ☐

Message on behalf of [illegible] Moore Louisiana

[illegible]

Operator

AMPAD EFFICIENCY® 23-021 CARBONLESS



To CRC
Date 10/27 Time 3:00pm

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M R. Paul Brachart.
of Michelle Golden Campaign (W.V. 2)
Phone 304 289 3134
Area Code Number Extension

TELEPHONED	☒	PLEASE CALL	☒
CALLED TO SEE YOU	☒	WILL CALL AGAIN	☐
WANTS TO SEE YOU	☐	URGENT	☐

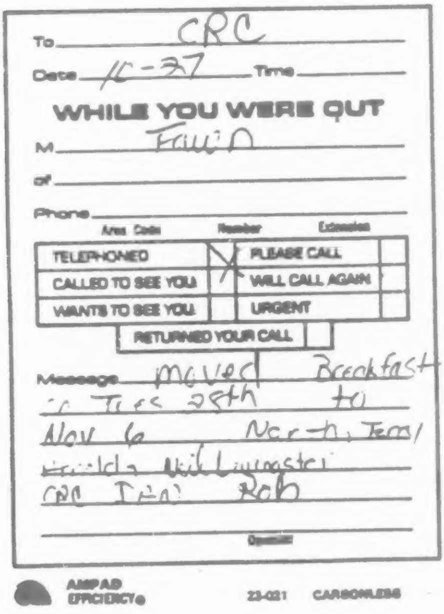
RETURNED YOUR CALL ☐

Message Wants $1,800 from ATAC to Run adds in Newspaper in W.Va - 2 against Harley Staggers.

Operator

AMPAD EFFICIENCY® 23-021 CARBONLESS

CH 1514



To CRC
Date 10-27 Time

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M Fawn
of
Phone
Area Code Number Extension

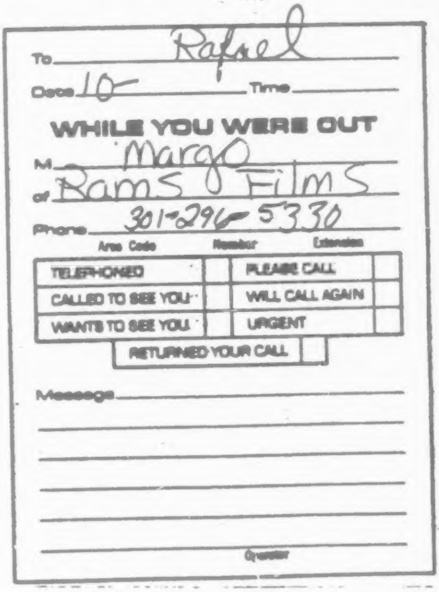
TELEPHONED	☒	PLEASE CALL	☐
CALLED TO SEE YOU	☐	WILL CALL AGAIN	☐
WANTS TO SEE YOU	☐	URGENT	☐

RETURNED YOUR CALL ☐

Message moved Breakfast on Tues 28th to Nov 6 North, Terri Fields, Neil Livingston CRC Terri Rob

Operator

AMPAD EFFICIENCY® 23-021 CARBONLESS



To Rafael
Date 10 Time

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M Margo
of Rams Films
Phone 301-296-5330
Area Code Number Extension

TELEPHONED	☐	PLEASE CALL	☐
CALLED TO SEE YOU	☐	WILL CALL AGAIN	☐
WANTS TO SEE YOU	☐	URGENT	☐

RETURNED YOUR CALL ☐

Message

Operator